

Modern History :
OR, THE
PRESENT STATE
Rich^d OF Wilson 386
ALL NATIONS.

DESCRIBING

Their respective Situations, Persons, Habits,
Buildings, Manners, Laws and Customs,
Religion and Policy, Arts and Sciences,
Trades, Manufactures and Husbandry, Plants,
Animals and Minerals.

By Mr. SALMON.

VOL. XII.

Concludes the Description of FRANCE, and
brings down the HISTORY of that Kingdom
to the present Year 1730.

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Printed for THO. WOTTON, at the *Three Daggers*
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Street : and T. OSBORNE, jun. in *Grays-Inn*.
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THE
PREFACE
TO THE
Twelfth Volume.



WHEN I first enter'd upon Modern History, all the World were pleased to wish Success to it. Nor was I happy only in their good Wishes, but the Demand for it was surprizingly great; I was oblig'd to Reprint my first Essays within Three Months; and now after Six Years the Sale continues so brisk, that my Booksellers are importuning me to Reprint the last Volumes; to which I have no other Objection, but the Price the Work is advanc'd to by the unavoidable Encrease of the Number of Volumes. I have been endeavouring therefore of late, to compleat the Description of every Country in one or more Books,

THE PREFACE.

so as to be had separately, that such of my Friends as have not taken them from the beginning, may purchase them by degrees, and not be oblig'd to advance the whole Price at once: For Instance; The Description of France is contain'd in the Eleventh and Twelfth Volumes; Spain and Portugal will be found in the Thirteenth; Great Britain and Ireland in the three next: And the Reader may remember, that all the Kingdoms of Asia are describ'd in the first Four Volumes; Turkey in Africk and Europe in the Fifth; Russia and the two Northern Crowns in the Sixth; Poland, Germany and the United Provinces in the Seventh and Eighth; and the Austrian Netherlands, Switzerland and Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Volumes: and consequently any one of these Divisions may be had separately, without buying the whole Set. Some Gentlemen may be inclin'd to see this part of the World, others that: They have it in their Option to take a View of which they please, without having the rest impos'd upon them that they have less Curiosity to enquire after.— In the whole Course of this Work I believe it will be admitted, That the Method observ'd in Compiling it, the Reflections and Stile are generally my own; and for the last twenty or thirty Years, which is properly

THE PREFACE.

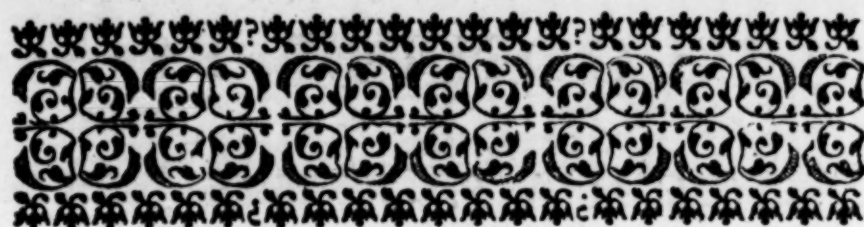
properly Modern History, I have been oblig'd to trace out the way, and collect Materials with infinite Difficulty, there being few Histories of any Nation that come down so low: this part of the Work therefore may with Propriety enough be justly call'd my own. Nor is it to be conceived, how much we have been in the dark in relation to the Affairs of our nearest Neighbours these last twenty Years, especially as to France: The Tyranny of that Government seems to have been industriously concealed from us: There was a Necessity therefore of Collecting the Transactions that have happen'd in our own Times, and reducing them into the Form of an History. How I have succeeded in the Attempt, must be left to the Judgment of others. And here I should have concluded my Preface, had not my Booksellers desir'd me to make some Apology for the want of Maps and Cuts in this Volume; though I can't conceive there is occasion for any. I begun the State of France in the Eleventh Volume, and ended it in the Twelfth; and having given a Map of France, with such Cuts as I thought proper to embellish the History in the first, there was no Necessity for any in the latter. Besides, I have added two or three Sheets more to the Twelfth Volume than are in any
of

The P R E F A C E.

of the former, which will, I presume, make the gentle Reader ample amends for the want of a Picture or two ; tho' I must assure him we have no Intention to discontinue the Maps and Cuts, but design all future Volumes shall be adorn'd with them, and particularly Spain, which I am now upon. My Booksellers desire me to observe further, that notwithstanding Modern History is become something Voluminous, the Authors that describe the same Countries can't be purchas'd for ten times the Money it costs, or read through under a great many Years, nor do they at last come down to the present Times.



THE



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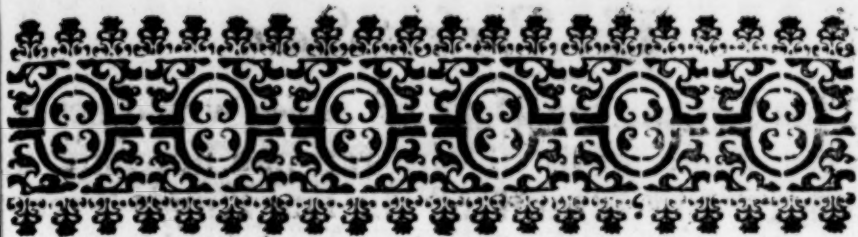
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THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
FRANCE.



THE late King *Charles V* did *Charles VI*
not constitute a Regent of 1380.
the Kingdom during the
Minority of his Son *Charles*
VI, who was about eleven
Years old when his Father
died, but recommended him
to the care of his three Uncles, the Dukes of
Anjou, *Berry* and *Burgundy*, and the Duke of
Bourbon, who seem'd to act at first with great
Unanimity, calling to their Assistance the
prime Nobility, without whose Advice no-
thing of Moment was enter'd upon. But the
Duke of *Anjou* looking upon himself to be
entitled to the Regency as he was the eldest
of the three Brothers, it was resolv'd to
advance the King's Majority, and perform
the Solemnity of his Coronation in a few
Months, and to permit the Duke of *Anjou* to
enjoy the Title of Regent in the mean time;
after which it was agreed the Kingdom shou'd
be govern'd in the King's Name by the
Counsel and Advice of the Lords his Uncles.

The
Princes of
the Blood
disagree
about the
Regency.

The Present State

This Scheme the Duke of *Anjou* wou'd never have come into, if the rest had not suffer'd him to ingross most of the late King's Treasure and Jewels. But it was observ'd of this Prince, that though he had a great deal of Ambition, Avarice had still the Ascendant of him : as short as his Regency was, he oppress'd the People with Taxes to that degree, that it occasion'd an Insurrection. They were a little pacified however when they saw the Princes making Preparations for the Coronation of his Majesty, when the Duke of *Anjou's* Administration was to be at an end ; but finding the same Taxes continu'd afterwards as before, the People rose again, plunder'd the Houses of the Collectors of the Taxes, and committed other Outrages, not only in *Paris*, but all over the Kingdom. Nor were the Distractions less in the Court it self, for the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Burgundy* constantly oppos'd each other ; and the Duke of *Berry*, who was a weak indolent Prince, was however discontented at his having scarce any share in the Administration. The Duke of *Burgundy*, though he was the youngest of the three Brothers, yet as he was a Prince of a superior Genius, and possess'd of large Territories in his own Right, and Heir apparent to *Flanders*, made much the most shining figure in the *French* Court, and the Duke of *Bourbon* adher'd to him. To satisfy the Duke of *Berry* they gave him the Government of *Languedoc* ; and the Duke of *Anjou*, who was adopted by *Joan* Queen of *Naples*, and declar'd her Successor, going to take Possession of that Kingdom (in which Expedition he lost his Life) the Administration remain'd solely in the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who

having



having quieted the disaffected at home, and made Peace with the Duke of *Britany*, march'd to the Assistance of his Father-in-Law the Earl of *Flanders*, against whom the *Flemmings* had revolted. He defeated them in a decisive Battle, and restor'd the Earl to his Government, returning with the young King in a triumphant manner to *Paris*, where he disarm'd the Inhabitants, caus'd all the Chains of their Streets to be taken away, and executed many of those who had been the Authors of the late Tumults. This City and *Rouen* also were oblig'd to pay very great Sums for their former insolent Behaviour, and submit to pay those Taxes they had procur'd to be suspended by the late Insurrections. In the mean time the War was faintly carried on between the *French* and *English*, both Courts being inclin'd to pacifick Measures. The Schism that was in the Church at this time seems to have been the principal occasion of that War. *England* and most of the Powers of *Europe* had acknowledged *Urban* for Pope, while the *French* alone adher'd to *Clement*, who had been elected by the Cardinals at *Avignon*. Whereupon *Urban* the *Italian* Pope sent a Bull into *England* to *Spencer* Bishop of *Norwich*, directing him to publish a Crusado against the *French* or *Clementines*. The Bishop having rais'd twenty or thirty thousand Men, transported them to *Flanders*, which was then dependant on *France*, and made himself Master of several Towns: but the Bishop not being supported in this Expedition by the King or Nobility, the *French* soon retook the *Flemish* Towns, and the Bishop was oblig'd to return to *England*, where he fell under the Displeasure of the Court, and had his Temporalities sequester'd.

The D. of Burgundy prevails.

1381.
Reduces the rebellious Flemmings

1383.
2 Popes at once.

One publishes a Crusado against the other.

1384.

The following Year the Earl of *Flanders* died, by whose Death the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had married his only Daughter *Margaret*, became possess'd of that fine Country.

1385.

Prepara-
tions for
the Inva-
sion of
England.

The *French* King being in the seventeenth Year of his Age, his Uncles married him to the Princess *Isabella*, Daughter of the Duke of *Bavaria*. After which it was propos'd in the *French* Court to invade *England*, and great Preparations were made for it; but the King of *England* having procur'd another Revolt in the *Netherlands*, the Troops that were design'd for that Enterprize were employ'd in reducing the *Flemmings*; only fifteen hundred of the *French* join'd the *Scots*, and made an Incurfion into *England*: They were soon repuls'd, and *Edinburgh* it self burnt and plunder'd by the *English* in return.

The King of *Navarre* having been disposfessed of the Towns and Territories he held in *France*, and not being able to recover them by open Force, about this time form'd a Design of poisoning the King and the most considerable Lords about the Court; and according to the *French* Writers, the Agent he employ'd was actually taken in the King's Kitchen with the Poison upon him: whereupon a Process was form'd against the King of *Navarre*, as a Vassal to the Crown of *France* for the County of *Evreux*, and by Sentence of the Peers he was adjudged guilty of High Treason: But that Prince kept close in *Navarre*, and did not come within their reach; and only the Agent he employ'd suffer'd for it.

It is observ'd by the *French* Historians, that the Kings of *England* and *France* were much in the same condition at this time, both of them young,

young, and in a manner under the Direction of their Uncles, who took the Administration of the Government into their own Hands. The Duke of *Lancaster* was almost absolute in *England*, as the Duke of *Burgundy* was in *France*, and both the one and the other had their private Interests in view ; but in this the King of *France* had the Advantage, that however his Uncles might contend for the Ministry, none of them aspir'd to the Crown, as the Duke of *Lancaster* and his Brothers evidently did in *England*.

In the Year 1386, the *French* again made Preparations to invade *England*, as the most effectual way to oblige the *English* to abandon the Countries they were possess'd of in *France*. But the Duke of *Berry*, who found he was consulted in this Enterprize only for form sake, determin'd to make it miscarry, and did not bring the Troops he was to raise to the general Rendezvous till *September*. Had the *French* made a Descent in *England* at this time, they had all the reason in the World to hope for Success ; for that Court was not only divided into Factions, but the Duke of *Lancaster* had carried the Flower of their Forces into *Portugal*, in order to assert his Title to the Crown of *Castile*, having married the Daughter and Heiress of *Peter the Cruel* ; but the Heats of that Country having destroy'd the best part of his Army, he was oblig'd to abandon that Enterprize.

1386.

The *French* renew'd their Design upon *England* a third time in the Year 1387, and because that Kingdom was actually engaged in a Civil War, fourteen thousand Men were thought sufficient for this Expedition, who were to have been commanded by *de Clisson* the

1387.

the Constable ; but just as they were ready to embark in *Britany*, the Duke of *Britany* caus'd the Constable to be seiz'd and detain'd Prisoner, either because he suspected him of some Design upon his Dutchy, or to make good his Engagements with the Court of *England*, under whose Protection *Britany* usually was, and must have been united to the Crown of *France* long before this, if the *English* had not from time to time prevented it. The *French* King was highly provok'd with the Duke of *Bretagne* for seizing the Constable, the first Officer of the Crown, and possibly would have made him sensible of it if the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* had not interpos'd, who prevail'd with the King to pass by the Affront on his setting the Constable at Liberty. His Majesty being now weary of the Tuition of his Uncles, declar'd he would take the Reins of Government into his own Hands ; whereupon the Duke of *Burgundy* retir'd to his Dominions, and the Duke of *Berry* to his Government of *Languedoc* ; but the Duke of *Bourbon*, of whom the King had a more favourable Opinion, he kept near him. All the rest of the great Officers were chang'd.

1388.
The King
takes the
Govern-
ment into
his own
Hands.

1389.
D. of *An-*
jou's Ex-
pedition
against
Naples.

The new Ministry, to ingratiate themselves with the People, struck off abundance of Pensions which the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* had procur'd for their Creatures, and eas'd the People in their Taxes. About the same time *Lewis*, the eldest Son of the Duke of *Anjou*, rais'd an Army and reduc'd the Kingdom of *Naples*, which he look'd upon as his Inheritance, tho' at present it was possess'd by *Ladislaus* the Son of *Charles Duras*, his Father's Competitor. He was not long after however driven out of *Naples* again, and forc'd to content himself with

with the County of *Provence*, which was part of the Territories left his Father by Queen *Joan*. The Duke of *Bourbon* either not approving the present Administration, or weary of a Court Life, desir'd leave of the King to raise a Body of Troops and assist the *Genoese* in an Expedition they were entering upon against *Tunis*, near which City the *Christians* landed, and obtain'd a Victory over the *Turks*, but were forc'd to raise the Siege of *Carthage* they had undertaken, and re-imbark their Troops, the King of *Tunis* consenting first to release the *Christian* Captives, and pay them part of the Charges of the Enterprize.

1390.

While the Duke of *Bourbon* was engaged in this Undertaking against *Tunis*, there happened an Accident at *Paris* that very much alarmed the Court. The Constable *Cliffon*, who was in a manner prime Minister, was attack'd in the Streets in the Night-time by one *Craon*, a Person of figure whom he had displac'd, and twenty other arm'd Men, who wounded him and left him for dead, tho' he had the good Fortune to recover. *Craon* made his Escape with his Followers into *Britany*, and that Duke refus'd to deliver him up when the King sent to demand him, which made it suspected that he was not altogether a Stranger to the Attempt upon the Constable; and the King being dissatisfied with the Duke upon many other Accounts, and particularly for not delivering up the places in *Britany* to the Constable which belong'd to him, (for the Constable was a Native of *Britany*) his Majesty rais'd an Army, and begun his March against the Duke, summoning the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy* to attend him, which they obey'd very unwillingly. But while the

1391.
An Attempt to
assassinate
the Con-
stable.

The
French
King
falls mad.

1392.

the King was about to revenge himself on the Duke of *Britany*, his Majesty was taken with a most unaccountable Frenzy, which occasion'd infinite Miseries to *France*. An Eye-Witness who was then in the Army relates, ' That on the first of *August*, 1392, they ' observ'd a Disorder in his Majesty's Gesture ' and Discourse; that sometimes he appear'd ' quite stupify'd, and at others let fall extravagant Expressions, and then would be ' compos'd again, and converse as at other ' times. This continu'd by Fits for four ' Days. On the fifth he gave Orders for ' drawing up his Troops, as if he design'd to ' take a Review of them; and placing himself ' at the Head of them compleatly arm'd, he ' led them to an Hospital a little distance ' from the Town of *Mans*. While he was ' there, a Beggar of a very mean Aspect ' having broke through the Crowd, rush'd into ' his Presence, and cried aloud, *My Prince,* ' *where is it you are a going? They are about to* ' *betray you and give you up into your Enemies* ' *Hands.* Whereupon the King started back ' in a Fright. In that very Instant a Soldier ' who was near him dropt his Sword from his ' Scabbard, and taking it up, the Sight of a ' naked Sword, with what he had heard ' before, gave such a turn to his Mind that ' he became perfectly distracted; and apprehending there was a Design upon his Life, ' drew his Sword and kill'd the Soldier that ' had just taken up his, and three others, one ' of whom was a Gentleman of Quality. As ' he continu'd fighting with every thing that ' stood before him, at last his Sword broke, ' and they carried him back to *Mans*, where ' he fell down in a kind of Lethargy, almost ' motionless,

motionless, infomuch that some thought him dead. The third Day after he came to himself, and was acquainted with what had happen'd; whereupon he begg'd Pardon for the Mischief he had done, was confess'd, and made a Vow to visit the Churches of our Lady of *Chartres* and St. *Dennis*.

This Misfortune occasion'd the laying aside the Expedition to *Britany*; and on his return to *Paris*, the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry* made their Court to the King with that Address, that he plac'd them again at the Head of Affairs; whereupon the Constable was disgrac'd, and an entire Change made in the Ministry. The Duke of *Orleans* however, the King's Brother, constantly oppos'd the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Berry*, on account of their refusing to let him have any share in the Administration.

Not long after another Accident happen'd, which was near proving as fatal to his Majesty as the former. At the Marriage of a Lady of the Queens Household in *January* 1393, there being a Ball and Masquerade after Supper, the King enter'd the Hall disguis'd like a Satyr, with four young Lords of the Court in the same Dress. The better to represent these Silvan Deities, their Habits were made close to their Bodies, and the Hair, or Materials which were to resemble it, was stuck on with Rosin. The Duke of *Orleans* not foreseeing the Consequence, wantonly set Fire to one of these Masks, whereupon the Rosin was immediately in a Flame, and the whole Habit took Fire; and as the Chains prevented their being separated, the Fire took hold of them all. They cry'd out most dis-

1393.
The K. in
Danger
of being
burnt at a
Masque-
rade.

1394.
The
Schism
continues
in the
Church.

mally, but no body durst come near to help them: The Dutcheſs of *Berry* only had the Preſence of Mind to pull off her Gown and wrap the King up in it, whereby ſhe extinguiſh'd the Flame and ſav'd his Life: the other four were burnt to Death. It was expected that this would have occaſion'd a Return of the King's Diſtemper again, but he was not ſeiz'd with his Frenzy till Summer following, when it having continu'd on him ſeveral Months, he appear'd perfectly well again: People were however perpetually apprehenſive of a Relapſe. In his lucid Intervals his Maſteſty was generally employ'd in endeavouring to put an end to the Schiſm which had ſo long continued in the Church, as indeed were moſt of the Princes in *Europe*, who propos'd that both the *Italian* Pope and the *French* Pope ſhould reſign, and ſubmit to a new Election: But theſe angry old Gentlemen, inſtead of conforming to this reaſonable Propoſal, excommunicated each other for ſeveral Succeſſions, and made themſelves the Jeſt of all Mankind, till the Temporal Princes call'd a General Council, which depos'd them both, and ſet up a third Perſon: but this happen'd ſome time after.

1396.
Peace
between
France and
England.

In the Year 1396 a Treaty of Peace was ſet on Foot between *France* and *England*, and the two Kings had an Interview near *Calais*, when a Marriage was concluded between *Richard* King of *England* and *Iſabella* the Daughter of *Charles VI* of *France*, a Princels of about ſeven Years of Age. At this Treaty the *French* Writers relate, that the King of *England* reſtor'd *Breſt* to the Duke of *Britany*, and *Cherbourg* to the King of *Navarre*. About the ſame

same time the *Genoese* put themselves under the Protection of *France*, and receiv'd a *French* Governor; though it was not many Years after that they dismiss'd him, and expell'd all the *French* out of their Territories.

The *Genoese* put themselves under the Protection of *France*.

The young Nobility of *France* having now no Enemy to employ their Arms against at home, were invited by *Sigismond* King of *Hungary*, Son of the Emperor *Charles IV*, to come to his Assistance against *Bajazet*, Emperor of the *Turks*; whereupon *Philip* of *Artois*, Count of *Eu*, Constable of *France*, the Admiral, and two thousand Noblemen and Gentlemen more with their Servants and Dependants, making a very considerable Body, and commanded by the Count *de Nevers*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Burgundy*, march'd to join the King of *Hungary*. Soon after their Arrival there happen'd a general Battle between the *Christians* and *Turks*, wherein the *French* behav'd themselves very gallantly at first, but pursuing the flying Enemy too far, and breaking their Order, they were surrounded by a Body of *Bajazet's* Army which had not yet engaged, and most of them cut to pieces, among whom was the Constable. The Count of *Nevers* their General, with some few of the principal Nobility, were made Prisoners, and forc'd to pay very extravagant Ransoms for their Liberty. The Emperor afterwards obtain'd fresh Supplies of *France* and *England* and other Powers, but all had been too little to save him, if in that very instant the celebrated *Tamerlane* had not invaded the Territories of *Bajazet* with an innumerable Army, defeated him and made him Prisoner, whereby *Constantinople* was for this time deliver'd from the Terror of the *Turks*. But there was another

An Expedition against the *Turks*.

1401.

Richard II
of England
 depos'd.

Prince that the King of *France* would more gladly have assisted if he could have done it with that Expedition the case requir'd, and that was *Richard* King of *England* his Son-in-Law, who having seiz'd the Inheritance of *Henry* Earl of *Derby* upon the Death of his Father the Duke of *Lancaster*, and banish'd him into *France*, the disaffected *English* invited the Earl into *England* again, advanc'd him to the Throne within ten Days after his Arrival, and soon after imprison'd the depos'd King *Richard* in the Tower of *London*, where 'tis usually said he was put to Death after a Renunciation of the Crown had been extorted from him in Parliament.

This Revolution was like to have produc'd a War between *France* and *England*. The *French* attack'd the *English* Territories in *Guienne* and *Gascony*, gave the Dauphin the Title of Duke of *Guienne*, which belong'd to the King of *England*, and treated *Henry* Earl of *Derby* as a Usurper. On the other hand, King *Henry* sent a Re-inforcement into *Gascony* to oppose the *French*, detain'd the Princess *Isabel*, who had been contracted to King *Richard*, and appear'd to be in a Condition to defend himself against his Enemies on all sides; but being more concern'd to establish himself at home than to engage in foreign Wars, he agreed at length to send back the Princess *Isabel*, and to renew the Truce between the two Kingdoms for six and twenty Years. *France*, according to their Historians, wou'd have made greater Advantage of these Distractions in *England*, if the King's Distemper had not so frequently return'd upon him. He relaps'd, say they, seven times in the Year 1399, and all sorts of Remedies, both natural and

and *supernatural*, were made use of to cure him. *What they mean by supernatural Remedies I must confess I am at a loss to discover, unless they were Charms and Witchcraft, for the common People generally supposed he was bewitch'd.* While the King was thus indispos'd, the Government was lodg'd in the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgundy*, but with this difference, that the Duke of *Burgundy*, though the younger, being superior in point of Capacity as well as in Wealth and Territories, took upon himself much the greatest share in the Regency. The Duke of *Orleans*, as hath been observ'd already, was disgusted to see his Uncles in the Possession of that Power which he apprehended belong'd to him as the King's Brother. Formerly indeed he was excluded on account of his Youth, but being now near thirty Years of Age, that Pretence was at an end; and from hence arose that violent Antipathy between the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Burgundy*, which descended to their Posterity, and set that Kingdom in a Flame. The Misunderstanding between the Dutchesses of *Orleans* and *Burgundy* was at least equal to that of their Husbands. The Dutchess of *Burgundy* took place of the Dutchess of *Orleans*, as her Husband was the King's Uncle, according to the Custom of those times. The Dutchess of *Burgundy* also had the Advantage in point of Birth, as Countess of *Flanders*. On the other hand, the Dutchess of *Orleans* was superior in Beauty, and had most of the King's Favour, which cou'd never be forgiven. Thus were these Princes at the greatest distance that can be conceiv'd; whatever the one advanc'd, the other oppos'd with all his might.

The
Dukes of
Orleans
and *Bur-*
gundy op-
pose each
other.

The

The Duke of *Burgundy* being obliged to take a Journey into his own Territories to solemnize the Marriage of his second Son, the Duke of *Orleans* laid hold of this Opportunity to represent to the King the Injustice that was done him in preferring his two Uncles before him in the Government of the State ; and being seconded by his Dutcheſs, whom the King tenderly lov'd, he obtain'd an Ordinance for declaring him Lieutenant General and Governor of the Kingdom while the King's Diſtemper would not permit him to attend the Administration of Affairs in Perſon. The Duke of *Burgundy* however on his return reſum'd his Office, revok'd the Ordinance, and was reſtor'd to the Poſt the Duke of *Orleans* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of in his abſence. The Duke of *Burgundy* dying ſoon after, the Administration became veſted in the Duke of *Orleans* and the Queen, who at this time agreed perfectly well ; but *John* the Son of the late Duke of *Burgundy* having taken Poſſeſſion of the large Provinces which deſcended to him, and coming to Court afterwards, appear'd to be animated with the ſame Reſentment againſt the Duke of *Orleans* as his Father had been, and made it his buſineſs to form Parties againſt him : and finding him too well eſtabliſh'd in the King's Favour to be eaſily remov'd, he retir'd again into his own Territories, where he raiſed a Body of ſix or ſeven thouſand Men, at the Head of whom he march'd towards *Paris* under Pretence of doing Homage to his Maſteſty for the Provinces he held of him. The Queen and the Duke of *Orleans* receiving Advice of his Approach in this hoſtile manner, retir'd to *Melun* in order to raiſe Forces to oppoſe him. The Duke of *Burgundy* at his arrival, in order

to

to gain the Favour of the *Parisians*, prevail'd with the King to restore them their Arms, which had been taken from them on the late Insurrections, and that the Chains might be again replac'd in the Streets for their Defence, which render'd him extremely Popular; and being in Possession of the King and Dauphin, and the latter contracted to his Daughter, he seem'd now to have a great Advantage of his Competitor. He invited the Queen and the Duke however to return to *Paris*, and to assist in the Administration: But the Duke of *Orleans* absolutely refus'd to share the Administration with him at first, and took upon himself the Title of Lieutenant General and Governor of the Kingdom under his Majesty. By the Mediation of Friends however the two Dukes were at length reconcil'd in appearance, and the Queen and Duke of *Orleans* return'd to *Paris*. After which the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* agreed to march with their respective Troops against the Territories of the *English*. The Duke of *Orleans* was to attack *Guienne*, while *Burgundy* besieged *Calais*: but both Enterprizes miscarry'd, and they return'd to Court much chagreen'd, and their old Animosities were reviv'd: They took every Occasion to disoblige each other, and frequently without any regard to Discretion or good Manners, till at length the Duke of *Burgundy* was work'd up to that degree of Rage, that nothing less than the Life of his Competitor would satisfy him.

1405.

1406.

The Duke of *Orleans* going to pay a Visit to the Queen one Evening, a Page of the King's, who held a Correspondence with the Duke of *Burgundy*, came to him and told him his Majesty requir'd his Presence upon an Af-

fair

1407.
The D. of
Burgundy
procures
the D. of
Orleans to
be assassi-
nated.

fair of moment. His Royal Highness immediately mounted, attended only by two Gentlemen and three Pages who carried Torches before him (tho' since his Quarrel with the Duke of *Burgundy* he had never stirr'd abroad till then without a Guard): He had not rode the length of a Street before he found himself furrounded by eighteen Assassins, with a *Norman* Gentleman at their Head whom he had lately discharged from an Employment he held about the King: 'Twas he who gave him the first Blow, and cut off his Hand with an Ax which he had laid upon the Saddle. His Royal Highness cry'd out, *I am the Duke of Orleans*. 'Tis he whom we want, said the Assassins; when the same Hand gave him a second Blow on the Forehead and dismounted him, and with a third he cleft his Skull; after which the Murderers made their Escape.

1408.

None of the Assassins being discover'd, the Author of this Outrage was conceal'd for two or three Days, when the Duke of *Burgundy* acknowledg'd to the Duke of *Berry* he was concern'd in the Fact; and retir'd to his own Dominions that he might put himself into a Condition to justify it. Accordingly he soon after return'd to *Paris* with an Armed Force, where he was receiv'd by the People, to whom he was very dear, with the highest Acclamations of Joy. Having demanded Audience of the King, who was not in a Condition to deny it, he order'd one of his Creatures to charge the deceased Duke with Tyranny, and a multitude of other Crimes, affirming that the whole Kingdom was indebted to him for delivering them from a Man of the Duke of *Orleans's* Temper. But the Discontent of the Court appear'd by the Retreat of the Queen and the Dauphin

Dauphin to *Melun* again, who were soon follow'd by the Dukes of *Berry* and *Britany*; leaving the King in the Duke of *Burgundy's* Power, who extorted a Justification of the Fact from him; and put his own Creatures into all the considerable Places about his Majesty. This was so resented by the rest of the Princes of the Blood, that the Duke of *Berry* and the young Duke of *Orleans*, with the Dukes of *Britany* and *Bourbon*, and the Counts of *Armencon*, *Clermont* and *Armagnac* enter'd into a Confederacy against him, and wrote a Letter to the King, wherein they lamented the Servitude in which his Majesty and the Dauphin were detain'd by the Duke of *Burgundy*; and begg'd of him that he would not take it amiss if they us'd Force to deliver him. They wrote Circular Letters to the Prelates and Nobility, as also to the Great Towns in the Kingdom to engage them in the same Design. The Duke of *Burgundy* however had several Advantages of his Enemies, being Master of the King's Person and the Dauphin's, and all his Orders sent abroad in their Names and under their Seals: Whereas his Adversaries wanting the Colour of Authority, were look'd upon as a Rebellious Faction. The War was vigorously carry'd on by both Parties for some Years; and the Duke of *Burgundy* was at one time so hard prest, that he was forc'd to call in two thousand of the *English* to his Assistance, which gave great Offence to the *French* Nobility. However in the Course of the War the Dukes of *Berry* and *Orleans* having the Disadvantage, made Proposals also to the King of *England*, offering to deliver up to him *Normandy* and all the Countries he claim'd in *France*, on Condition he would send them a

1409:
A Civil
War
breaks
out.

1410

1411

1412

1413.

Reinforcement of Troops. But the wisest among the *French* on both sides considering that the introducing an *English* Army into their Bowels would probably be attended with the Ruin of their Country, a Peace was on a sudden clapt up between the contending Parties; and the *English*, who were already landed in *Normandy*, were paid the Charges they had been at in this Expedition, and prevail'd on to return home. The next Year the Civil Wars in *France* were reviv'd, the Duke of *Burgundy* made himself Master of the King's Person again, and executed several of the Adherents of the Duke of *Orleans*: But his Royal Highness getting into the Administration in his turn, compell'd the Duke of *Burgundy* to leave *Paris* and retire to his *Flemish* Territories. At this time the Duke of *York* came over to *France* from *Henry V* King of *England*, to demand the Princess *Catherine*, Daughter of the *French* King, in Marriage; but nothing was concluded on that Subject. However, the Truce was renew'd for some Months between the two Nations.

1414.

The Dauphin and the Duke of *Orleans*, upon the Retreat of the Duke of *Burgundy*, procur'd him to be declar'd an Enemy to his Country; whereupon the Civil War was carried on with more Fierceness than ever, Towns taken and retaken, the Country ravag'd and plunder'd on all sides, till at length the *Flemings* declaring for *France* against the Duke, and his Brother the Duke of *Nevers* deserting him, he found himself under a Necessity of treating with his Enemies. The Duke of *Orleans*, who had still the Murder of his Father fresh in his Memory, was for pushing things to the last Extremity; but another Embassy arriving from

from *England*, and demanding the Restitution of *Normandy*, and the Dauphin apprehending that the Duke of *Burgundy* wou'd throw himself into the Hands of the *English* if he was driven to Despair, thought fit to close with the Offers the Duke made, that they might be in a Condition with their united Forces to oppose the Invasion they were threaten'd with by the King of *England*; and a Peace was accordingly concluded and sworn to by the contending Parties with the greatest Solemnity on the 14th of *May*, 1415.

1415.

Henry V
of *England*
invades
France.

King *Henry*, notwithstanding this Reconciliation, proceeded in his Enterprize against *France*, and having assembled a Fleet of fifteen hundred Sail of Ships, on which he embark'd six thousand Men at Arms, and four and twenty thousand Archers, (for Muskets were not yet brought into common use) he landed near *Harfleur* in the Mouth of the *Seine* about the middle of *August*, and laying Siege to that Town, which was bravely defended, the place did not capitulate till about six Weeks after he sat down before it; and now the Season was so far advanc'd, it being the latter end of *September*, and so many of his Men were fallen sick, that he did not think it proper to enter upon any further Action this Campaign, but determin'd to march his Army cross *Picardy*, and take Winter Quarters in the Neighbourhood of *Calais*. The *English* must certainly have a very mean Opinion of the *French* Troops at this time, or they wou'd not have attempted such a March thro' an Enemy's Country in the Face of an Army of three or fourscore thousand Men, when according to their own Historians King *Henry* had not above fifteen or twenty thousand at most, especially

The
Battle of
Agincourt.
1415.

when that Prince might have transported his Army by Sea to *Calais*, if he had apprehended any Hazard in marching by Land. The *French* it seems did give him some Disturbance in passing the River *Somme*, but he found a Ford at last where he got over with very little Bloodshed. And now, when he had conquer'd the greatest Difficulty, the *French* Writers tell us he was so discourag'd on a sudden, that he offer'd their Generals to deliver up *Harfleur*, and pay the Charges of the War, if they would permit him to march to *Calais*. But if he ever had made such an Offer, it is much more rational to suppose he shou'd have done it before he pass'd the River. But let that be as it will, it is evident the *French* did not accept the Offer if he made it, and having got between the *English* Army and *Calais*, King *Henry* found himself under a Necessity of fighting. They permitted him however to make choice of a very advantagious Spot of Ground to draw up his Army upon, where each Wing was flank'd with a Wood, and the *French* cou'd not extend their Front beyond that of the *English*, who had planted sharp Stakes before them much in the Nature of the modern *Cheveaux de Frize*, I presume, which defended them against the Attack of the *French* Horse. Their Writers seem to insinuate, that their Generals were not appriz'd of this Barrier of Stakes, (though they tell us the *English* made use of them in almost every Engagement). Certain it is, this Precaution of the *English* contributed very much to the Victory they afterwards obtain'd, for the Squadrons of Horse which were order'd to charge and break the Archers falling upon the Stakes, and being at the same time overwhelm'd with a

Showers

Shower of Arrows from those Bowmen, (who according to the *French* were a Body that had not their equal in the World in this kind of Fight) the Horse immediately fled, broke through the Lines that were drawn up in the Rear, and put them into Confusion. Another occasion of their Defeat, as the *French* relate, is to be ascrib'd to the heavy Armour of their Men at Arms, for it seems it was the Custom of that time for the Horse to dismount and fight on Foot, and except the first two thousand that charg'd the Archers, all the rest of the *French* Horse were dismounted, and the Ground being at that time very wet and miry, the *English*, who had no Armour on, and consequently were much lighter, when they had deliver'd their Arrows, and came to attack the *French* *Gend'armes* with their Axes and Clubs, had a great Advantage of them. The King of *England* observing the Enemies Confusion, order'd a Body of Horse he had in reserve to wheel about and attack them in the Rear, which occasion'd a general Rout, several Bodies that were entire quitting the Field without striking a stroke. The *French* Writers from whence I take this Relation say, that there was very little Blood shed on the side of the *English*, and no Persons of Distinction kill'd unless the Duke of *York* the King's Uncle, and the Earl of *Suffolk*: But on the side of *France* there were ten thousand Men kill'd in the Field of Battle, of whom eight thousand were Gentlemen, and fourteen thousand made Prisoners. Among the Slain were the Count of *Nevers* and the Duke of *Brabant*, two of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Brothers; the Duke of *Alencon*, and the Constable the Count d'*Albret*, and three other *French* Princes, as they call them;

them : and among the Prisoners the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bourbon*, the Counts of *Eu*, *Vendome* and *Richmont*, and the Mareschal de *Boucicaut*. It is related of the Duke of *Alencon*, that seeing all was lost, he determin'd to die gloriously, and with a Troop of young Gentlemen who attended him, broke through the *English* Archers and the Horse that were about King *Henry*, and struck the Duke of *York* off his Horse at one Blow, and afterwards kill'd him ; and the King stooping down to assist his Uncle, the Duke of *Alencon* cleft the Crown that was wrought in his Majesty's Helmet in form of a Crest, and if *Alencon* had not been kill'd in that very instant, his Majesty had run a great Hazard of his Life. But to proceed. After the Battle King *Henry* continu'd his March to *Calais* without Interruption, and the *French* King, who was then at *Rouen*, having put the Remainder of his Army into the Garrison-Towns, retir'd to *Paris*, appointing the Count d'*Armagnac*, Uncle to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the greatest Enemy the Duke of *Burgundy* had, Constable of *France* and Governor of *Paris* ; soon after which *Lewis* the Dauphin fell sick of a Disentery, and died the 18th of *December*, being succeeded by his Brother *John*, Duke of *Touraine*.

1416.

The Emperor *Sigismund* coming over into *England* in 1416, and mediating a Peace between the two Nations, there was no considerable Action happen'd in *France* that Year. The two Factions therefore being deliver'd at present from the Terror of the *English* Arms, renew'd the Civil War. The present Dauphin being in the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Interest, he propos'd great Advantages from it : But this Prince also dying, his Brother *Charles* became Dauphin,

1417.

Dauphin, who was about seventeen Years of Age, and entirely govern'd by the Count d'Armagnac. The Count being inform'd that the Queen had heap'd up a considerable Treasure, and a vast Quantity of Jewels, put the Dauphin upon procuring an Order from the King to seize them for the Service of the War, which was immediately put in Execution. This exasperated the Queen to the last Degree, who retiring to *Vincennes*, the Count and the Dauphin accus'd her of a Criminal Conversation with one of her Household, and proceeded to execute the Lord they had charg'd with this piece of Galantry. As they were sensible that the Queen would infallibly retaliate this Usage if ever it was in her Power, they set a Guard upon her, and made her in a manner their Prisoner. Whereupon she apply'd herself to the Duke of *Burgundy*, proposing a Reconciliation with him, and to unite their Interests against the Dauphin and the *Orleans* Faction, who were generally call'd *Armagnacs* from the Count of *Armagnac*, who was Governor of *Paris*, and the Soul of that Party. The Duke receiv'd this Intimation from the Queen with Joy, and marching immediately with a select Body of Troops to *Tours*, where her Majesty was confin'd, he brought her off before the Constable *Armagnac* had any Notice of the Design. The Queen now took upon her the Title of Regent by Virtue of a former Edict, and in Confederacy with the Duke of *Burgundy* carried on the War against the *Armagnac* Faction with more Vigour than ever; of which the King of *England* having Advice, made a second Descent in *Normandy* in the Year 1417, where he made himself Master of *Caen*, *Cherbourg*, and several other Towns. In the mean time

The Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy* unite against the *Orleans* Faction.

The
Dauphin
keeps a
distinct
Court.

1418.
The K. of
England
conquers
Normandy.

time the Duke of *Burgundy* surpriz'd *Paris*, and put to Death the Count d' *Armagnac*, and most of the Heads of that Party ; but the Dauphin with some of his Followers had the good Fortune to escape to *Bourges*. And now the Queen and Duke having the King and the capital City in their Power, seem'd to act by Royal Authority, while the Dauphin and his Friends constituted a distinct Court, possels'd themselves of *Berry* and part of *Languedoc*, and became pretty formidable in that part of the Kingdom.

The King of *England* proceeded in his Conquests in *Normandy*, reducing *Rouen* the Capital, and indeed almost every other Town in that Dutchy, in the Year 1418. The *English* carried on the War in a much more prudent manner than they had done in the Reign of *Edward III*, who made large Conquests indeed, and over-run *France* several times from one end to the other, but did not make himself Master of the strong Towns and Fortresses as he went along, so that he usually lost in the latter end of a Campaign, or the following Winter, all he had gain'd in the Summer. *Henry* the Fifth seems to have been better vers'd in the Art of War, securing his Conquests as he advanc'd : and had he liv'd a little longer, or not left an Infant upon his Throne, 'tis highly probable the *English* had remain'd Sovereigns of *France* to this Day. Though perhaps we need not much lament the Loss ; for as the lesser Kingdom is usually dependant on the larger, we might probably have become a Province to the Nation we conquer'd ; or have been in the Condition *Scotland* is in respect to this Kingdom, who have had the Honour of giving us a King in

deed

and deed, but have now neither King or Parliament amongst them. The Progress of the *English* Arms so alarm'd both the Dauphin and the Duke of *Burgundy*, that notwithstanding that implacable Animosity they seem'd to entertain for each other, they thought fit to stifle their Resentments for the present, and clap up a Truce, and the Dauphin consented to an Interview with the Duke, in order to provide for their common Defence. But the Dependants of the late Duke of *Orleans* suggesting to the Dauphin that the Kingdom would never long remain united unless the Duke of *Burgundy* was taken off, a second interview was treacherously appointed, at which the Duke of *Burgundy* was cut in pieces by the Dauphin's Attendants, the first Blow being given by a Servant of the late Duke of *Orleans*, whom the Duke of *Burgundy* had caus'd to be assassinated in the Streets of *Paris* about twelve Years before. And though some people look'd upon this Proceeding as a piece of Justice on that account, yet most Men were struck with Astonishment and Indignation at the Dauphin's Treachery. He pretended indeed in his Apologies and Memorials on this Subject, that it was a pure Accident, and was occasion'd by some Insult of the Duke's at that Conference; which did not obtain much Credit. But however that was, the Queen express'd a greater Resentment at the Fact than the Queen, tho' the Dauphin was her only Son then living: And indeed she was sufficiently exasperated against him before, for seizing her Treasure, imprisoning her, and charging her with being false to the King's Bed. These were such Provocations as scarce any Lady would have born: and though the

1419.

Duke of
Burgundy
murder'd
at an In-
terview
with the
Dauphin.

Treaty
of *Troyes*,
where the
King of
England is
declar'd
Regent
and Suc-
cessor
to the
Crown
of *France*.

The K. of
England's
publick
Entry
into *Paris*.

French Writers are very severe upon her Character on account of the Opposition she made to the Dauphin, it must be acknowledg'd he had first thrown off all Regard for her as a Mother before she abandon'd his Interests. She no sooner heard of the Duke's Death, but she dispatch'd a Courier to his Son *Philip*, to assure him that the King, herself and the City of *Paris*, would all join with him to revenge the Murder: and the King of *England* being now Master of great part of *France*, she propos'd to him the Marriage of her Daughter the Princess *Catherine*, and that he shou'd succeed to the Crown upon the Demise of the present King, to the Exclusion of the Dauphin, and in the mean time be declar'd Regent of the Kingdom; which Proposal the King of *England* readily came into, and the Treaty was sign'd at *Troyes* in *Champagne* upon the 21st of *May*, 1419, being ratified afterwards by the Parliament of *Paris*. In pursuance of this Treaty the Princess *Catherine* was twelve Days afterwards married to King *Henry*, and the Dauphin declar'd a publick Enemy. He was also summon'd to the Marble Table to answer for the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and on his not appearing convicted of Contumacy, and banish'd the Kingdom for ever. But he continu'd still in the Province of *Berry*, waiting for a favourable Opportunity to restore his Affairs.

The *English* having taken *Melun*, the two Kings, with the Queen and the Duke of *Burgundy*, came to *Paris* the first Sunday in *Advent*, and the Duke of *Clarence*, the King of *England's* Brother, was made Governor of the City. From that time, the *French* Writers observe, the Courts of the two Kings made a very different

different Appearance. The Court of the King of *England* was splendid and magnificent, and crowded with a numerous Retinue, whilst that of the King of *France* was deserted ; which gave occasion to many of the *French* to lament the Fate of their Country in private, say their Historians. And what still gave them greater Uneasiness was, that King *Henry* made the People he had conquer'd contribute to the Establishment of his Government ; for having assembled the States, he requir'd a Subsidy of them, which they were not in a Condition to refuse, but granted without one dissenting Voice, expressing at least a seeming readiness in granting that which they knew was in the Conqueror's Power to levy in an instant by a military Force ; and which, if it had been deny'd, might have furnish'd him with a Pretence of demanding a great deal more. But this prudent Prince chole to let every thing run in the same Channel, and to make as few Alterations as possible, that he might reconcile that People to his Government. He might reasonably expect that what was given by the States wou'd be levy'd with less Murmuring than what he should raise by a despo- rick Power. We can't but observe at this Day, that this Prince was equally vers'd in the Arts of War and Peace. We see how he made his Advances gradually in the Enemy's Country, and secur'd what he made himself Master of as he went along ; and that after- wards he made the conquer'd Country in a great measure maintain it self, that he might not be too burthenome to his *English* Subjects. Nor do we find him guilty of any Acts of Tyranny and Oppression when he was at the heighth of his Glory, and in a manner Master

The
States of
France
grant K.
Henry a
Subsidy.

1421.

The
English de-
feated at
Beauge,
and the
Duke of
Clarence
kill'd.

of both Kingdoms. But to proceed in our History. The King of *England* returning home in order to re-inforce his Army, (for it was too soon to put much Confidence in his new Subjects) six or seven thousand *Scots* came over into *France* in the mean time to the Dauphin's Assistance, and joining with his Troops near *Beauge* in *Anjou*, defeated a considerable Body of the *English* commanded by the Duke of *Clarence* the King's Brother, who was kill'd in the Field of Battle, and several others of the *English* Nobility were kill'd or taken Prisoners, which gave some Life to the Dauphin's Affairs, and occasion'd several places to declare for him. And indeed next to the untimely Death of King *Henry*, which happen'd not long after, the Dauphin was oblig'd to the *Scots* for his Re-establishment. The Diversion they made in *England*, and the Re-inforcements they sent him from time to time when his Fortunes were at the lowest Ebb, kept his Head above Water, and enabled him to wait for a favourable Juncture to restore his Affairs.

1422.

The Dauphin was encourag'd by his late Success to lay Siege to *Chartres*, but the King of *England* returning into *France* soon after with a great Re-inforcement, he was glad to quit the Siege, and retire to *Bourges* the Capital of *Berry*, which being the only Province he was entirely Master of, occasion'd his being call'd by the *English* in derision the King of *Berry*. King *Henry* in the mean time laid Siege to *Meaux*, the Capital of the Country of *Brie*, and a place of great Strength, which held out a Siege of seven or eight Months, when they were forc'd to surrender at Discretion. The King order'd the Head of *Vanrus*
the

the Governor to be cut off, and his Body hang'd upon a Tree near the Town, call'd *Vanrus's Tree* from the Numbers of *English* he had hang'd upon it; for he was an implacable Enemy to that Nation.

The Queen of *England*, who had the Year before been deliver'd of a Son at *Windsor*, coming over to *France* with another Re-inforcement of Troops, Rejoicings were made at *Paris* for the Birth of that Prince, equal to those that had been made at *London* on the same Occasion. But the King of *England* being soon after taken dangerously ill as he was upon the March to find out the Dauphin, all their Mirth was damp'd. He expir'd on the last of *August* 1722, declaring his Brother *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloucester*, Regent of *England* during the Minority of his Son. He advis'd his Council to offer the Regency of *France* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and on his Refusal he nominated his other Brother the Duke of *Bedford* to take upon him the Regency of that Kingdom. The Duke of *Burgundy* receiving Advice of the King of *England's* Illness, immediately set forward to visit him, but found him dead on his Arrival; and having consulted with the *English* Council, agreed with them that the Duke of *Bedford* should undertake the Regency. The old King of *France* did not long survive King *Henry*, for he dy'd at *Paris* on the twenty-first of *October* following. There was no Prince of the Blood, the *French* Historians observe, to assist at his Interment, some of them having been kill'd at the Battle of *Agincourt*, others Prisoners in *England*, and the rest absent, they suppose, as not approving the present Administration; or because they wou'd not seem to authorize by their Presence the

K. Henry
dies.
Duke of
Gloucester
Regent of
England.

Duke of
Bedford
Regent
of *France*.
King of
France dies

Henry VI
proclaim-
ed King
of France.

Charles
VII, 1422

the proclaiming *Henry VI* as King of *France*. The Duke of *Bedford* therefore only attended the Obsequies of the *French King* in Mourning, and the Corps was no sooner interr'd, than a Herald having exhorted the People to pray for the Soul of *Charles the Sixth*, added, Long live *Henry of Lancaster*, King of *France* and *England*. The deceas'd King had had six Sons and as many Daughters, and of all his Sons only *Charles the Dauphin* surviv'd him, who is from this time stil'd King of *France* by the *French Historians*, though *Henry VI* was actually proclaim'd King of *France* at *Paris*, and in Possession of the greatest part of that Kingdom for a considerable time afterwards.

In Conformity to the *French Historians*, I begin the Reign of *Charles the Seventh* here, though to me *Henry VI* appears to be King of *France* at this time, *de Jure* as well as *de Facto*; for the Crown of *France* devolv'd upon him by virtue of the Treaty of *Troyes*, which was afterwards confirm'd by the Assembly of the Estates : and if Treaties made between Sovereign Princes, or Acts of Settlement made by the Legislature of any Kingdom are of any Force to bind the Succession, I can't see what Pretence the *French* have to exclude *Henry VI* from the number of their Kings, especially when he was actually crown'd and recogniz'd there: We may as well strike him out of the Catalogue of the Kings of *England*, because he was afterwards depriv'd of that part of his Dominions also. Though perhaps we have been as much in the other extreme in stiling our Monarchs Kings of *France* ever since, when we have by innumerable Treaties, vir-

tually

rually at least, acknowledg'd the *French King's* Title to that Kingdom. But to proceed.

The Dauphin upon advice of his Father's Death, caus'd himself to be proclaimed King of *France*, and soon after crown'd at *Poitiers*, which gave some encouragement to his Party, and brought some to declare for him who had hitherto stood neuter. On the other Hand the Duke of *Bedford* the Regent, to strengthen the Hands of the *English* renew'd the Alliances between them and the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britany*. The Provinces all the while were divided into different Parties and Interests, and scarce a Day pass'd without a Skirmish: But the most considerable Action happened near the Town of *Crevant* in *Burgundy*, where the *Dauphinois* having been join'd by a Body of *Scots* were entirely defeated, and the Dauphin's Troops having the worst in many other Encounters this year, he found himself under a necessity of retiring to the Southward of *Loire*. Here he solicited his Friends in *Spain* and *Italy* to send some Troops to his assistance. From *Spain* he receiv'd a small Detachment, and the Duke of *Milan* furnish'd him with a thousand Foot, and about six hundred Horse; but his principal Supplies arriv'd from *Scotland*, amounting to five or six thousand *Scots*, under the Command of Earl *Douglas*. The Duke of *Bedford* on the other side, having receiv'd fresh Recruits from *England*, and being join'd by the Duke of *Burgundy's* Forces, took several considerable Towns from the *Dauphinois*, and being set down before *Tory* on the Confines of *Normandy*, the Earl of *Buchan* a *Scot* whom the Dauphin had honour'd with the Title of Constable of *France*, came to its relief, which occasion'd a general Battle, wherein the Dauphin's

Charles causes himself to be proclaim'd and crown'd King of *France*:

1423.
Battle of
Crevant.

1424.
The
French routed
at *Tory*.

A Quar-
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tween the
English and
*Burgundi-
ans* pre-
vents the
entire
Conquest
of *France*.

Dauphin's Party was defeated, four or five thousand Men kill'd, among whom was the Constable Earl *Douglas*, and several other Persons of distinction, which Victory was attended with the surrender of *Mans*, *Mayenne*, and many other considerable Places, to the *English*. And now it was expected every Day that the Duke of *Bedford* wou'd pass the *Loire* and reduce the rest of *France* to the Obedience of King *Henry*; but it must be acknowledg'd that the Dauphin had abundance of good Fortune on his side, if he had neither Money, Troops or Courage, for in this very instant, when, in all probability, he wou'd have been oblig'd to abandon the Kingdom, an unforeseen Quarrel happen'd between the *English* and *Burgundians*, which gave his Friends time to recover from their Consternation, and provide for their Defence, otherwise, in the Opinion of *Mezeray*, one of their most celebrated Historians, the *English* had made an entire Conquest of *France*.

The Occasion of this Misunderstanding between the *English* and *Burgundians*, was an unfortunate Amour of the Duke of *Gloucester's*, Regent of *England*, with *Jaqueline* Countess of *Hainault* and *Holland*; she was already married to the Duke of *Brabant*, a Prince remarkably weak both in Body and Mind, and being no longer able to endure him, she pretended the Marriage was null, and sent to *Rome* for his Holiness's Opinion upon it, and in the mean time made an Offer of her Person to the Duke of *Gloucester*, who, as she was Heiress of several fine Countries, immediately married her, without waiting for the Resolution of the Pontiff. He proceeded soon after to transport a considerable Force to *Calais*,

in

in order to take possession of *Hainault* his Wives Inheritance; but the Duke of *Burgundy* sending a Body of Troops to the Assistance of his Cousin the Duke of *Brabant*, he met with a vigorous Resistance. And what rendered this Occurrence the more unfortunate to the *English* Affairs, was, that the Troops both on the side of the Duke of *Gloucester* and *Burgundy* were design'd to reinforce the Duke of *Bedford* if this Adventure had not happen'd, and he was oblig'd to remain perfectly inactive for a Year or two for want of those Forces. However, the Pope's Determination arriving, that the Duke of *Gloucester's* Marriage with the Countess of *Hainault* was null, he desisted from his Pretensions, and married the Lady *Eleanor*, Daughter of the Lord *Cobham*, who, according to common Fame, had long been his Miss. And thus the Occasion of the Quarrel being remov'd, the Duke of *Burgundy* was reconcil'd to the *English*, and sent his Troops again to join the Duke of *Bedford*. During this long Interval of Inaction, the Dauphin had not only very much encreas'd his Party, but form'd some advantageous Alliances, especially with the Duke of *Britany*, whom he had drawn off from the *English*. The Duke of *Bedford* however, marching into *Britany*, soon compell'd their Duke to quit the Dauphin's Party, and sign the Treaty of *Troyes*, whereby the King of *England* was declar'd Successor to the late King of *France*. And now the Duke of *Bedford* determin'd to put the Design in execution he had so long suspended on account of the Misunderstandings between the Courts of *England* and *Burgundy*, namely, to pass the *Loire*, and make himself Master of the Countries to the Southward of

1427.

The Siege
of Orleans.

1428.

it; and in order to this, he detach'd a Part of his Army to invest, or rather block up the City of *Orleans*, for it was of too large an Extent to be entirely surrounded by such a Handful of Men as this Army consisted of; and it is surprizing to think that the *English*, who scarce ever exceeded five and twenty thousand Men in the Field, should be able to undertake a Siege of that consequence, and keep such a large populous Kingdom in awe at the same time. The Person the Duke of *Bedford* pitch'd upon to carry on this Siege was *Thomas Montacute*, Earl of *Salisbury*, esteem'd one of the most accomplish'd Generals in the *English* Service; he sat down before the Town on the side of *Sologne* on the twelfth of *October* 1427. Thus the Place was invested but on one side, and the Dauphin left at liberty to throw in Supplies of Men and Provision, as he did from time to time during the Siege. The *English* however storm'd a great Bastion at the Foot of the Bridge, and a small Castle call'd the *Torelles*, and carried them, and had great hopes of succeeding in the Enterprize, till their General the Earl of *Salisbury* was unfortunately kill'd by a Musket shot as he was viewing the Breach in order to make a general Assault. Their Courage was however reviv'd by the approach of the Duke of *Burgundy's* Troops in the Month of *December* 1428; they took Post on that side of the Town towards *la Beauffe*, but still not having Forces enough entirely to encompass the City they built Forts and Redoubts at certain distances round the Town, not so near however but there were yet some intervals, by which Relief might be put into the Place; and this occasion'd several smart Actions between the Besiegers

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Besiegers and the *Dauphinois*, as Provision was sending to the City or the Camp, the most remarkable of which happen'd on the 12th of February, 1429, between the Count *de Clermont* and the celebrated Sir *John Falstaff*; the latter was conveying a Supply from *Paris* to the *English* Camp, and being attack'd by the *French*, defeated them. This was call'd the Battle of *Herrings*, there being great quantities of them among the Provisions.

1429.
The
Battle of
Herrings.

Notwithstanding the frequent Opportunities the *Dauphin* had of throwing Supplies of Men and Provisions into the Town, the Siege was carried on with such Vigour, that it was evident it must surrender in a short time: whereupon the Besieg'd cunningly offer'd to put the City into the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*; to which the Duke of *Bedford* answer'd, he hop'd they did not think to make a Tool of him; that he should beat the Bush, and leave others to catch the Birds: intimating, that as the *English* had been chiefly instrumental in carrying on the Siege, it was not fit the *Burgundians* shou'd run away with all the Advantage; for it must be remember'd that the Duke of *Burgundy's* Troops did not join the *English* before *Orleans* till half a Year after they were set down before it. But however rational the Answer was which the Regent gave on this occasion, the Besieg'd gain'd their point by it, creating such a Difference between the *English* and the Duke of *Burgundy*, that he immediately withdrew his Troops from before the place.

The D. of
Burgundy
deserts
the *English*
at the
Siege.

The *English* still carried on their Attacks; but as most part of the Town was now open to the *Dauphinois*, it cou'd not be a very difficult matter to bring them Relief, especially

The Maid
of Orleans.

when the Army of the Besiegers did not consist of ten thousand Men, and the Garrison was at least as numerous : but the *French* were at this time so dispirited, that notwithstanding the Disadvantages the Besiegers labour'd under, their Soldiers could hardly be prevail'd with to march to the Relief of the Place. The Dauphin and his Generals therefore finding they had apparently a great Superiority in the Field in point of Numbers, and the Country unanimously in their Interest, consider'd that if they could find any Expedient to animate their Men, their Affairs must soon put on a new Face ; having met with a young Maid therefore of a Masculine Courage on the Confines of *Lorrain*, they brought her to the Dauphin's Court, pretending that she was sent from Heaven to deliver *Orleans* from the *English*. They had taught her the Exercise of Arms, and instructed her in all manner of Military Operations before she was brought upon the Stage, so that she knew how to behave at the Head of a Company or Squadron as well as most of the Officers of the Army ; and this was all to pass for Inspiration. The Gracefulness of her Person and Address, and the uncommonness of finding one of that Soft Sex so daring and well skill'd in Martial Affairs, sufficiently prejudic'd the Vulgar in her Favour. There was no great difficulty in bringing them to believe she was rais'd up by Heaven for their Deliverance ; and in this Persuasion they crowded to march under her Colours to the Relief of *Orleans*, by which the Generals of the *Dauphinois* gain'd their point ; for nothing but an unaccountable Dread of the Enemy cou'd have prevented their throwing Supplies into *Orleans* as often as they pleas'd, if we consider

consider the small Number of the *English* before it, and the great Extent of the place. The Dauphin therefore having assembled an Army of fourteen or fifteen thousand Men, commanded by his most celebrated Generals, with the Maid of *Orleans* (as the Impostor was afterwards call'd) at their Head, sent them to re-inforce the Besieg'd, and found but little difficulty in entring the Town on that side which was open to them. This was cry'd up as one of the most daring Enterprizes that ever was undertaken, and the Success look'd upon even as miraculous by all the Dauphin's Party through the Kingdom. And now the Garrison consisting of about three times the number of the Besiegers, they ventur'd to attack the Forts and Redoubts which the *English* had built about the place, some of which they carried. This was ascrib'd to the Conduct of the Holy Maid, and the People thereby induc'd to believe, that they shou'd always be victorious while this heroick Virgin remain'd at their Head. Certain it is, the *English* finding the Garrison so very numerous, and being deserted by the *Burgundians*, had now no Hopes of taking the place: they rais'd the Siege therefore, and march'd off in good Order with about eight or nine thousand Men, being all the Forces they had there. And though their Number was so very small, the Courage of the *French* was not yet so much rais'd as to venture to give them any Disturbance in their Retreat. The Dauphin's Generals wou'd by no means however have this Conduct to be thought the Effect of their Fears, but pretended it was the express Order of Heaven by the Mouth of the Maid of *Orleans*, that they shou'd not pursue the Enemy.

The Siege
of *Orleans*
rais'd.
May 28.

my. The Truth is, they found their Affairs upon the mending hand, and they had no mind to attack a Body of nine thousand Veteran Troops, and put the Fate of their Country upon the issue of a Battle, when a little Time and Patience wou'd probably produce the same Effects they cou'd hope for by a Victory.

The
Battle of
Patay.

The raising the Siege of *Orleans* was attended with the Surrender of several places to the *French*, and the Duke of *Alencon* not long after surpriz'd part of the *English* Army at *Patay*, where they kill'd about fifteen hundred of them, and took the Lords *Talbot* and *Seale* Prisoners; and though the rest of the Detachment made a regular Retreat, it was esteem'd a great Victory, and ascrib'd also to the Conduct of the Maid of *Orleans*. This Defeat was imputed to the Negligence or Cowardice of *Falstaff*, though it appears from our Histories that he had formerly behav'd himself like a Man of Honour. He was not only sufficiently lampoon'd however upon this occasion, as appears by some Ballads still in being, but degraded from the Order of the Garter, which he had been formerly admitted to upon his good Success in some former Expeditions. Though the Defeat of *Patay* was not very considerable in it self, yet it was of great Consequence to the *French*; it shew'd them that the *English* they so much dreaded were but Men like themselves, and encourag'd many People to come over to the Dauphin's Party who had taken Oaths of Allegiance to the *English*. They pretended they were absolved from their Oaths by Heaven it self, who had sent the Maid of *Orleans* to assert the Right of their natural Sovereign: such excel-

lent

lent use we find way be made of an Impostor artfully manag'd. This Train of Success so exalted the Dauphin, that he left his Fastnesses beyond the *Loire*, and ventur'd to march cross the Country as far as *Rheims*, and having surpriz'd that City, caus'd himself to be crown'd there a second time, which gave still greater Credit to their Heroine, who they pretend had foretold that he should shortly be crown'd at *Rheims*, when there appear'd scarce any possibility of its being effected. But however that be, it is not to be conceiv'd what a turn this Coronation in the City where his Ancestors had been consecrated gave to King *Charles's* Affairs: Many great Cities immediately submitted to him, and it was with the utmost Difficulty that the Regent prevented the Revolt of *Paris* it self.

K. Charles
crown'd
at Rheims.

But after all these Successes, which had been ascrib'd to the Divine Aid brought them by the Maid of *Orleans*, she was taken Prisoner in the Year 1430, and burnt for an Impostor in the City of *Rouen*, at the time King *Henry* arriv'd there in his way to *Paris*, whither he was going to his Coronation; the Regent apprehending that the performing this Ceremony in the Capital City of the Kingdom might prove advantageous to his Cause. The King of *England*, as the *French* stile him, made a magnificent Entry into *Paris* on the second of *December* 1431, being consecrated and crown'd on the seventeenth of the same Month by the Cardinal of *Winchester*; this was perform'd rather according to the Ceremonial of *England*, than the Customs of *France*, say the *French* Writers, from whence I presume they wou'd infer some defect in the Ceremony. He return'd to *Rouen* the Day after *Christmas*, the

The Maid
of Orleans
burnt.

The K. of
England
crown'd
at Paris.
1431.

the Regent apprehending he wou'd be more secure there than in *Paris*, which was almost furrounded by the Enemy; but he seems to have been in equal danger in that City, the Castle of *Rouen* being surpriz'd at the very time the King was there, tho' it was retaken by the *English* indeed the next moment, and the City secur'd, which happen'd, as the *French* relate, through some Misunderstandings among their Generals, otherwise they had made King *Henry* Prisoner, and put a final End to the War. This Prince was crown'd King of *France* when he was about nine Years of Age.

Misunderstandings between the *English* and *Burgundians*.
1433.

As the Duke of *Bedford* had married the Duke of *Burgundy's* Sister, this Princess had found means to reconcile her Brother and her Husband, and the War was again carried on against the *French* with tolerable Success; but the Dutcheß of *Bedford* happening to die in the Year 1433, and the Duke marrying a Person that the Duke of *Burgundy* did not approve of, the latter was pleas'd to resent it, or rather took this opportunity of expressing that aversion to him and the *English* Cause, which he had entertain'd some time before: However, he propos'd a Congress to all the Parties concern'd in the War, in order to adjust their several Differences, and *Arras* was appointed for the Place of Conference. The Plenipotentiaries of *England* and *France* soon discover'd that it was not possible to come to any Agreement, both their Masters insisting on their Title to the Crown of *France*, whereupon the *English* Ministers withdrew, and left the *French* and the *Burgundians* to treat by themselves, where the Duke of *Burgundy* obtain'd whatever he ask'd, for the *French* were determin'd

determin'd to gain him over to their Party at any Price, and granted him such Terms, as in the Words of the *French* Historians, nothing but the Necessity of their Affairs cou'd justify; it was, say they, a very shameful Peace, but a very useful one: Among other things, it was stipulated, that King *Charles* shou'd disavow the Murder of *John* the present Duke's Father, that he should beg of him to forget the Injury, and be reconcil'd to him, and that all Persons should be brought to Justice who were concern'd in the Murder, that the King shou'd erect a Church where the Murder was committed, the Presentation to which shou'd be in the Duke and his Successors.

Treaty
at Arras
between
France and
Burgundy.

That the King shou'd grant the County of *Burgundy*, as well as the Dutchy, with many considerable Cities specified in the Articles, to him and his Heirs; that he shou'd transfer over to him all the Towns and Fortresses on both sides the *Somme* in *Picardy*, the County of *Ponthien*, *Dourlans*, *Bologn*, &c. and that the Duke should not be oblig'd to do Fealty, Homage or Service to the King for any of the Countries or Places he possess'd. Which were such Conditions, as scarce ever any Vassal obtain'd from his Sovereign before.

King *Charles* having strengthened himself by this Alliance with the Duke of *Burgundy*, many of the *French* Lords were induc'd to desert the *English* Service, and make their Court to him: The Duke of *Bedford* however continued the War, and took *St. Denis*, and several other considerable Towns, as the *French* on their side did others from the *English*, and so equal were their Forces at this time, that there appear'd very little hopes of putting a Period to the Distractions of the Kingdom,

Duke of
Bedford
Regent of
France dies
1435.

till the Death of the Regent, which happen'd on the fifteenth of *December* 1435, to whose Conduct, according to the *French*, the *English* were indebted for the greatest Part of their Conquests, and standing their Ground so long when they receiv'd scarce any Supplies from *England*. He was succeeded in the Government of *France* by *Richard Duke of York*.

The *English*, to shew their Resentment for the Duke of *Burgundy's* deserting them, plunder'd his Country, and took several of his Towns, whereby they render'd him their most inveterate Enemy, which certainly was an Error in Politicks, when he was willing to have stood neuter. In the Condition the *English* were at this time from their Divisions at home, and so large a Country abroad to defend with a handful of Men, they had no occasion to have made themselves new Enemies. The Year after the Duke of *Bedford's* Death, the *Parisians* enter'd into a Conspiracy against the *English*, and let the Constable of *France* into that City with a Detachment of King *Charles's* Army; the Governor *Willoughby* had just time enough to retire into the Bastile with his Garrison, and upon Articles of capitulation, was permitted to retire to *Rouen* with his Garrison, Arms and Baggage: And thus the Capital of the Kingdom was lost without striking a Stroke. And it is to be wonder'd how the *English* so long maintain'd themselves in such a vast populous City, with a Garrison which seldom ever exceeded two thousand Men, and at this time not twelve hundred. The Duke of *Burgundy* at the same time laid Siege to *Calais*, but did not meet with the like Success, he was forc'd to rise from before it; and the Duke of *Gloucester*

Paris
surpriz'd
by the
French.
1436.

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soon after transporting thither ten thousand Men, return'd his Visit, burning and destroying his Country of *Artois* with Fire and Sword. *Pontois* and several other places also were taken from the *French* this Year, and the War seem'd yet to be vigorously carried on on all sides. The Weight of it however fell chiefly on the Duke of *Burgundy*, the *English* being determin'd to make him sensible of the dishonourable and imprudent part he had acted. And indeed, during all the time he had been in Alliance with *England*, his *Flemish* Territories never suffer'd so much as they did at present. But it was the Happiness of *France*, their Historians observe, that he was much more provok'd at these Ravages than inclin'd to change sides by them. Nor were the *French* much displeas'd when they heard of his Misfortunes: for however they might have put on a fair Outside to bring him over to their Party, his haughty Behaviour and over-bearing manner at the Treaty of *Arras*, with the hard Conditions he had extorted from the *French* King, were not forgotten. Besides, since the Reduction of *Paris*, and the Revolt of the Nobility from the *English*, the Duke was become less necessary than formerly. And now King *Charles* thought it a proper time to make his publick Entry into the capital City of *Paris*, which he perform'd with the utmost Splendor on the twelfth of *November* 1437, having been driven from it near twenty Years, during most of which time it had been in the Possession of the *English*. It is natural to suppose the *French* were mightily rejoic'd on this Occasion; for how mild or equitable soever the *English* Administration might have been, the People

King
Charles's
publick
Entry
into *Paris*.
1437.

France
afflicted
with
Plague
and
Famine.

will ever be fonder of a Native than a Foreigner: And there is a great deal of reason for it: Foreigners will have foreign Favourites, and oblige them at the Cost of the Natives, whatever Stipulations are made to prevent it; but here the Government had been avowedly in the Hands of the *English* Nobility and Generals, and the *French* totally excluded from it. It is no wonder if after this therefore there were great Rejoicings, when they saw a Prince of their own Nation making his publick Entry into his capital City: We shou'd have believ'd as much if their Historians had not left it upon Record. But their Joy was very short liv'd it seems: The King had not been here many Weeks, before *Paris* and *France* in general suffer'd as much by Plague and Famine as they had before by the War, converting it into a perfect Desert. The King was oblig'd to leave the City on the third of *December*, and the very Soldiers abandon'd it, so that the *English* might have return'd and possess'd themselves of it again, if they had not dreaded the Pestilence more than the Enemy. What added to the Misery of the Country was, that the Nobility who had left the *English* Service, and had now nothing to subsist on, under Pretence of making Incursions on their own Estates which were in the Power of the *English*, plunder'd Friends and Foes alike, and maintain'd themselves by these kind of Robberies, which it was not in the Power of King *Charles* to prevent, having no other means of subsisting these Gentlemen, who had in a literal Sense left all to follow him, and were frequently of Service to him by the Incursions they made into the Enemies Quarters.

There

There being great Disputes at this time between the Council that was held at *Bazil* and Pope *Eugenius IV*, King *Charles* in some things adher'd to his Holiness, and in others seem'd to be govern'd by the Council, receiving neither of their Regulations absolutely, but with such additional Modifications form'd by the French Clergy as the Usages of the *Gallican Church* it was said requir'd; and from these Determinations of the Ecclesiasticks in France was compos'd what has since obtain'd the Name of *The Pragmatick Sanction*; whereby it was declar'd, That the Council was Superior to the Pope: The antient Form of Ordaining Bishops was reviv'd; and many things retrench'd from whence the Holy See formerly reap'd great Advantage, with which the Pope was extremely offended, but could not procure the Decree to be abolish'd till the Reign of *Francis I*, who with the Consent of *Leo X* establish'd the *Concordat* in its room.

1378.
Disputes between the Council of *Bazil* and the Pope.

The Pragmatick Sanction.

The French Court was at this time pretty much divided; and the disaffected Lords, the chief of whom were the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Alencon*, and the Counts of *Vendome*, *Dunois* and *La Trimouille*, had insinuated themselves so far into the Dauphin (King *Charles's* Son) that he agreed to appear at their Head. He was now about eighteen Years of Age, weary of being under the Tuition of a Governor, and of leading a private inactive Life, and consequently the easier wrought upon. At a time appointed between them they surpriz'd his Governor, took him out of his hands, and march'd with the Prince to *Blois* before the King had any Notice of their Design: but the King pursued them so briskly, that within a few Months they were obliged to submit to Mercy, which they

1440.
A Conspiracy against K. Charles.

they obtain'd by the Mediation of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The King afterwards chang'd all the Officers of the Dauphin's Household, and put those about him he could rely upon.

About this time *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, who had remain'd Prisoner in *England* ever since the Battle of *Agincourt*, being five and twenty Years, obtain'd his Liberty on agreeing to pay a Ransom of three hundred thousand Crowns; of which he rais'd one himself, and the Duke of *Burgundy* advanc'd the other two for him; these two Families being now perfectly reconcil'd, whose former Differences had in a great measure occasion'd the Civil Wars of *France*.

1447.

The King, who was so very cautious of hazarding his Person in his juvenile Years, determin'd now, according to the *French* Historians, to lead his Army in Person, and soon found the happy Effect of it. The first Enterprize he undertook was the Siege of *Creil*, and afterwards ventur'd on that of *Pontoise*, an important Post near the Confluence of the *Seine* and the *Oyse*, and well defended by the *English*, in both which however he was successful. The following Winter he was exercis'd again with the Discontents of several of the Princes of the Blood, who thought themselves too little concern'd in the Administration; particularly the Dukes of *Orleans*, *Alençon* and *Bourbon*; and he had some Intelligence of their caballing with the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britany*; but they did not break out into actual Rebellion; the King found means to pacifie them without having recourse to Arms. The Duke of *Orleans* he invited to Court, and return'd him great part of the Money his Ran-

som

some had cost him, knowing that the Uneasiness of his Circumstances was the principal Reason of his Discontent. The Duke of *Burgundy* also, whose Dissatisfaction arose principally from the Neglect that had been shewn the Duke of *Orleans*, had no further Quarrel with the Court; and these two Princes being thus taken off, the other Lords thought it most prudent to be quiet and reconcile themselves to his Majesty.

The King being at liberty from Civil Dissentions, carried the War into *Guienne* and *Gascony*, where he took several Places from the *English*; but while he was at this distance the *French* lost some Towns in *Normandy*; and thus the War continued with various Success between the two Nations till the Year 1443, when a Truce was concluded between them, which being renew'd from time to time was continu'd till the Year 1448. King *Charles* therefore having now no occasion for his Troops, sent them to *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria* to be employ'd against the *Switzers*; in which Service, 'tis said, they gain'd a great deal of Honour.

1443.

The Truce being at an end in the Year 1448, the War with the *English* was renewed; and before the end of the Year 1449 the *French* recover'd *Rouen* and all the Towns in *Normandy* and *North France*, except *Calais*; for the Court of *England* was at this time distracted with Civil Dissentions, and perfectly abandon'd their late Conquests. The *French* Historians, some of them, applaud the Courage and Conduct of their Monarch upon this Occasion, who led his Troops in Person; but there needed very little Courage or Conduct to reduce a Country which had no regular Forces to

1448.
The *English* beat
out of
Normandy.
1449.

to defend it, and the Natives intirely in their Interest. The last Place the *English* lost in *Normandy* was *Cherbourg*, which surrender'd on the twelfth of *August* 1450, and though it was then a Port of great Consequence, which the *English* might have supply'd every Day by Sea with Forces and Provisions, they never attempted to relieve it: And the *French* annually observ'd a Thanksgiving at *Rouen* for the Reduction of *Normandy* on the twelfth of *August* very lately, if they do not still.

The *English* lose
Guienne
and
Gascony.

1451.

1452.
Earl *Talbot*
kill'd.

1453.

The
Dauphin
leaves his
Father's
Court.

The latter end of the Year King *Charles* march'd his Army towards *Guienne* and *Gascogne*, where he took *Bergerac* and several other Towns from the *English*; but the Season not permitting him to keep the Field any longer, he put his Army into Winter Quarters. The following Year, 1451, the *English* having no Army in the Field, *Bordeaux* surrender'd, with many other Towns, and the rest made but a feeble Defence; so that he was Master of the whole Country within less than six Months. General *Talbot* arriving in *Guienne* with a Fleet of four score Sail, and four thousand Land Forces on board the following Year, 1452, *Bordeaux* and most part of the Country of *Guienne* submitted to the *English* again; but Earl *Talbot* being unfortunately kill'd, with his Son the Lord *Lisle*, in an Engagement near *Castillon* on the seventeenth of *July* 1453, *Bordeaux* and the rest of *Guienne* were again reduc'd to the Obedience of the *French* before the end of the Campaign.

In the mean time the Dauphin, who was very uneasy at the Restraints put upon him by his Father, and having no body about him to whom he could confide in, desired leave of the King to visit his Principality of *Dauphine*, which the

King

King did not at all approve of, but however permitted him to go upon Condition he would return within four Months. The Prince no sooner found himself at liberty, than he took a Resolution never to put himself in the King's Power again. He had conceiv'd a most inveterate Hatred against all those who were concern'd in the Administration, as he apprehended them to have occasion'd his Majesty's Coldness towards him; but the most specious Pretence he had for residing at a distance from Court was the King's ill usage of his Mother, his Father always keeping Wenches in the very Palace where she resided; but she that had the greatest Influence on him was one *Agnes Sorrel*, a celebrated Wit, who for that reason was the principal Object of his Aversion.

The Prince having remain'd in *Dauphine* several Years, and refus'd all his Majesty's Invitations to come to Court, the King was determin'd to take a Journey thither and bring him away with him by Force; but the Dauphin had Intelligence of it, and fled with some few of his Friends to *Flanders* to the Duke of *Burgundy*, who took great pains to reconcile him to the King, to no purpose: the Prince chose to reside at *Genep* on the Frontiers of *Hainault*, rather than return to Court. The Duke of *Alencon* also became a Malecontent again about this time; and 'tis said, made an Offer to the *English* Court to introduce their Forces into *Normandy*; but he was betray'd by his Almoner, who instead of carrying his Dispatches into *England*, presented them to the *French* King; and the Duke being apprehended, was convicted of High Treason in conspiring against the Government, sentenc'd to be

1455.

The Dauphin flies to the Duke of Burgundy.

1457.

The
French
plunder
Sandwich.

The Ge-
noese put
them-
selves un-
der the
Protecti-
on of the
French
again.

Degraded from his Peerage, to have his Head cut off, and his Estate confiscated; but the King pardon'd him his Life, confining him Prisoner to the Castle of *Loches*. The same Year *Peter Le Bresse*, Seneschal of *Normandy*, was order'd to make a Descent on the Coast of *England* with four thousand Men, which he perform'd near *Sandwich*, and having plunder'd the Town, return'd to *France*; tho' we are told the Intention of King *Charles* in this Enterprize was to make himself Master of some considerable Town in *England*, which he might exchange for *Calais*.

The *Genoese* again put themselves under the Protection of the *French* in the Year 1459; but revolted soon after, and establish'd a Form of Government of their own; however this has given the *French* occasion frequently to revive their Claim to that City.

Notwithstanding this King had been so fortunate to see his Kingdom from a most distracted Condition restor'd to perfect Tranquility, the Dauphin's Disobedience render'd him extremely unhappy: It was the continual Subject of his Thoughts, and disturb'd his Rest every Night. He was once upon the point of disinheriting him, and declaring his younger Son *Charles* Heir to the Crown. Amidst these uneasy Reflections, a Favourite of the King's, in whom he very much confided, acquainted him with a Rumour that went about of certain Persons being dealt with to poyson his Majesty: whereupon he immediately fell into a deep Melancholy, refusing to take any Nourishment least it should be poison'd. In this Humour he remain'd seven or eight Days, till his Physicians represented to him that this unaccountable Caution would as certainly dispatch him

as a Dose of Poison. Whereupon he was prevail'd on to eat ; but his Stomach and Bowels were now so disorder'd by his long Fasting, that nothing would pass through him. He fell ill of a Fever, of which he died the 22d of July, 1461, in the sixtieth Year of his Age, and the thirty-ninth of his Reign, according to the *French Account* ; tho' the *English* can look upon him to be no better than a Usurper, the Crown being settled upon *Henry King of England* by *Charles VI*, and the Three Estates. But what are Acts of Settlement any longer than there is Power to support them ?

Lewis XI being at *Genep* when he receiv'd Advice of his Father's Death, went immediately to *Rheims*, and was Crown'd: After which he turn'd out almost every one of his Father's Ministers, and introduc'd a new set of Men into the Administration, cunning crafty Statesmen like himself, say the *French Historians*. Having made his Brother *Charles Duke of Berry*, his next step was to lessen the Power of the other Princes of the Blood and great Vassals of the Crown, particularly that of the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britany*, whom he had observ'd in the last Reign frequently to have given Laws to their Sovereign.

Lewis XI.
1461.

Henry VI King of England being driven from his Throne about this time, *Margaret of Anjou* his Queen applied her self to *Lewis* for Assistance ; but she could obtain only a Loan of twenty thousand Crowns, for which she undertook that King *Henry* should surrender *Calais* into his Hands if he was restor'd ; but *Edward IV*, who afterwards ascended the Throne of *England*, prevented the Execution of this Bargain. The *French King* also sent Troops to the Assistance of the King of *Arragon*.

He assists
the Kings
of *England*
and *Arragon*.

He endeavours to reduce the Power of the Nobility.

A Conspiracy of the Princes of the Blood against him.

1465.

gon against *Castile* upon the same View that he supply'd the Queen of *England*; namely, upon Condition that he would mortgage part of his Territories to him; by which means he got Possession of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* for 300000 Crowns. At his return from this War he redeem'd the Towns in *Picardy* which had been given to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and proceeded in his Design of reducing the Power of the *Grandeess* and *Vassals*, to effect which he sent an Officer and Fifty bold Fellows into *Holland* to surprize Count *Charolois*, eldest Son of the Duke of *Burgundy*, from whom he apprehended the greatest Opposition: But the Count receiv'd Intelligence of his Design, and made the Party Prisoners. This treacherous Attempt of the *French King's* render'd him very odious both at home and abroad, and increas'd the Confederacy that was already forming against him by the Nobility and discarded Ministers. The Conspirators, of whom the principal were the Dukes of *Britany* and *Bourbon*, prevail'd with the Duke of *Berry*, the King's Brother, to appear at their Head. This Prince was about seventeen or eighteen Years of Age, and engag'd in the Design in hopes of getting a more considerable Appenage or Territory assign'd him than he had at present.

The disaffected Lords having recourse to Arms in every Part of the Kingdom, the King made the best Provision against them he cou'd, and march'd in Person against the Dukes of *Bourbon* and *Nevers*, and the Count of *Armagnac*, with 80000 Men, so suddenly, that they were forc'd to quit the Field, and shut themselves up in the Town of *Riom*, and had not the King been call'd from thence by the

the March of Count *Charolois* towards *Paris*, they must have submitted to his Mercy; but his Affairs obliging him to return to *Paris*, he allow'd the Lords to march out with the Garrison and their Baggage on condition they shou'd not bear Arms against him again, and shou'd use their Endeavours to persuade the rest of the Malecontents to return to their Duty. Count *Charolois* in the mean time being come before *Paris*, the King hasten'd back to prevent the Revolt of his Capital, and gave him battle at *Montelery*; the Advantage being rather on the Count's side, the King retir'd into *Paris*, where understanding that the Lords had since join'd their Forces with the Count, notwithstanding their promise not to bear Arms against him; and having little hopes now of prevailing by force, he propos'd a Personal Conference with the Chiefs of the Malecontents, in hopes of gaining his Point that way: He trusted himself even in the *Burgundian* Camp to treat with them: Their principal Demand was, that the King shou'd grant the Dutchy of *Normandy* to the Duke of *Berry*; imagining that if they cou'd carry this Article, it wou'd secure all the rest, because the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Normandy* and *Britany* wou'd always be a Match for their Sovereign. The King saw their Drift, but considering that if he cou'd once prevail with them to lay down their Arms, it wou'd not be a difficult matter to divide them, as it afterwards happen'd; he consented to every thing they ask'd, and the Treaty was sign'd at *Conflans* on the 15th of *October* 1465. Count *Charolois* hereupon retir'd into his own Country, and most of the *French* Lords into *Normandy* with that Duke, not daring to trust themselves in

1467.

in the King's Power. They all made their Court to the young Duke of *Normandy*, and every one expected to have the Direction of his Affairs, which occasion'd a Quarrel among them, and gave the King an Opportunity of drawing over the Duke of *Bourbon* to his Interest, by whose assistance he easily possess'd himself of *Normandy* again, and the young Prince fled into *Britany*, dreading nothing more than falling into his Brother's Hands. During these Transactions the Duke of *Burgundy* died, and Count *Charolois* his Son succeeded him, who being engaged in a War with the *Ligeois*, the King took an occasion while he was on that side, to fall upon his Friend the Duke of *Britany*, and compell'd him to renounce all Alliances with the Enemies of *France*. After this he desir'd a personal Conference with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and tho' he knew him to be his most implacable Enemy, trusted himself again in his Territories, which Rashness he had like to have had sufficient cause to repent, for it seems the Duke upon discovering some of the King's Practices against him while he was at *Peronne*, was in suspense whether he should not seize his Majesty's Person, and was with difficulty dissuaded from it by one of his Ministers, who acquainted the King with the Design; and it is amazing that *Lewis XI*, who was naturally jealous and suspicious of every Body, should more than once put himself into the Hands of a Person, whom he knew both hated and feared him. However, after he had suffer'd a great deal in Apprehension, and concluded a Treaty with the Duke, whereby he again yielded the Dutchy of *Normandy* to his Brother the Prince, he had the good Fortune to be

dismiss'd

1469.

dismiss'd by the Duke of *Burgundy*, and re-
turn'd safe to *Paris*. Not long after he pre-
vail'd with his Brother to accept of the Dutchy
of *Guienne*, instead of *Normandy*, which discon-
certed all the Duke of *Burgundy's* Measures,
for they cou'd not now give each other any
Assistance if the King shou'd for the future
put hard Terms upon them, *Guienne* being
one of the most distant Provinces in *France*
from the Duke of *Burgundy's* Territories.
Thus the King had made a considerable
Progress in disuniting the Princes who were
in a Confederacy against him; what he most
fear'd was, that *Edward* the Fourth, who had
been advanc'd to the Crown of *England*, and
was his Enemy, on account of the Assistance
he had given his Competitor *Henry VI*, shou'd
assist the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britany* if he
attempted to reduce them. But the Earl of
Warwick having depos'd King *Edward*, and
restor'd *Henry VI* to his Throne again, freed
him from these Apprehensions for a Time.
Henry VI however was a Second Time depos'd,
and *Edward* the Fourth got Possession of the
Crown of *England* by the Assistance of the
Duke of *Burgundy*, which brought the King
into the same Perplexity he was before. He
had Intelligence, that this Prince, with the
Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Britany*, were actually
enter'd into a Confederacy against him, and
raising Forces to invade him; but, happily
for *Lewis*, the Duke of *Burgundy* spent his
Time in reducing some Towns upon the *Rhine*
instead of joining his Allies, who cou'd not
prevail on him to defer that Enterprize. In
the mean Time the King enter'd into a League
with the *Swiss* and *Germans*, and set them upon
the Duke of *Burgundy*, and while he was em-
ploy'd

Quick
Revolu-
tions in
England.

The K. of
England
invades
France.

ploy'd on that side, attack'd his Territories in the *Low Countries*, beat his Troops in two set Battles, and took several Towns from him. But the King of *England* landing at *Calais* with a fine Army, to join the Duke of *Burgundy*, the *French* King had all the Reason in the World to apprehend that he shou'd soon be depriv'd of his new Conquests, and perhaps attack'd in his turn: And this wou'd infallibly have been the Case, if the Duke of *Burgundy* had kept his Word with King *Edward*, and had had an Army ready to have invaded the *French* Territories; but his Troops had been so harra's'd in his *German* Expedition, that they were still in their Winter Quarters, and in no Condition to take the Field. The Duke endeavour'd to bring the King of *England* into Temper, by discovering a Correspondence he held with the Constable of *France*, who had promis'd to deliver up the Town of *St. Quintin* to him upon the confederate Army's appearing before it; and upon this Advice the King of *England* order'd a Detachment of his Forces to march that way and summon the place, but the Town refus'd them Admittance. The Constable, who was playing a treacherous part between the *French* King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, did not yet think it a proper time to declare himself; which so exasperated the King of *England*, that he could not stifle his Resentment, and parted from the Duke in a great Passion; of which the *French* King having Intelligence from the Spies he kept in the *English* Court, he sent to sound his Majesty's Inclinations as to a Peace; and finding him not averse to it, a Treaty was set on Foot, wherein it was agreed, that the *French* King should not support the *English* Malecon-

ments, nor the King of *England* those of *France*: And in order to a stricter Union between the two Crowns, *Charles*, the Dauphin of *France*, should marry the Princess *Elizabeth*, the King of *England*'s eldest Daughter. After the signing of this Treaty the two Kings had an Interview at *Pequigny*, where the *French* King perfectly purchas'd the *English* Court; not a Minister but had a Pension from him, and even the King himself accepted an Annuity of fifty thousand Crowns *per Annum*, which ever after made him look with Indifference upon the Encroachments the *French* King made on the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Territories in the *Low Countries*. Soon after King *Edward*'s Return to *England* a Truce was concluded between *France* and the Duke of *Burgundy*; and now it was expected that the *French* King would have entirely crush'd the Duke of *Britany*, but the Court of *England*, notwithstanding the Sums that were dispers'd among them, wou'd not so far sacrifice the Interest of their Country as to abandon this useful Allie, who cou'd at any time introduce their Forces into the Heart of *France* in case of a Rupture with that Kingdom, and had generally furnish'd them with a safe Retreat in all their Wars: They insisted therefore at the celebrated Interview above-mention'd, that the Duke of *Britany* shou'd not be molested on any account whatever. And indeed while they preserv'd a Friendship with that Duke, the Alliance with the *Low Countries* was not so necessary as it became afterwards, when *Britany* became united to the *French* Crown.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, who is represented in History as a Prince of an ambitious restless Temper, after the Truce with *France* attack'd

A Peace concluded between *France* and *England*.
The *French* purchase the *English* Ministry.

The D. of
Burgundy
kill'd.

1477.
The
Arch-
Duke
marries
Mary of
Burgundy
his
Heirefs.

1479.

the Dutchy of *Lorrain*, and made himself Master of *Nancy* the Capital, and the whole Country; and elated with this Success, determin'd to revenge himself on the *Swiss*, who had assisted the *Germans* against him: but the *Swiss* being supported underhand by the *French* King, gave the Duke two remarkable Defeats. Not long after *Lorrain* revolted from him, whereupon he laid Siege to *Nancy* a second time, when the Duke of *Lorrain* and the *Swiss* fell upon him again, entirely defeated his Army, and he himself was found dead in the Field of Battle: Whereupon the *French* King immediately seiz'd upon his Towns in *Picardy*, and endeavour'd to procure an Insurrection among the *Flemmings* in his Favour: nor could the Princess *Mary*, Daughter and Heirefs of the late Duke, have prevented a Revolt probably, if she had not married *Maximilian* Archduke of *Austria*, and Son to the Emperor, whereby the *Low Countries* and the Country of *Burgundy* was preserv'd from falling under the Dominion of *France*. The *English* Court was at this time so corrupted with *French* Money, that they made no Attempt to prevent it, though *England* wou'd have been first affected by so large a Country's being added to *France*, which lay just over against it, and abounded in Shipping and the most useful Manufactures. During the Continuance of the War between the Archduke and the *French*, the latter first entertain'd several Regiments of *Swiss*, and found them so useful that they have ever since retain'd a Body of them in their Service. These two Powers being pretty equally match'd, and the *French* King declining in his Health, a Truce was concluded between them. In the mean time the Archduke

dutchess

1482.

dutcheſs died at *Bruges* of a Fall from her
 Horſe, leaving behind her a Son named *Philip*,
 and a Daughter named *Margaret*. The *French*
 King made ſuch an Intereſt with the States of
Flanders upon this occaſion, that he prevented
 the Archduke's being declar'd Guardian to his
 Son *Philip*, and contracted with the States for
 the Marriage of the Dauphin with his Daugh-
 ter *Margaret*, carrying the young Princeſs, who
 was ſcarce two Years old, into *France* to be
 educated as Dauphineſs, againſt her Father's
 Conſent : at which the King of *England* was
 pretty much alarm'd, who till then had de-
 pended on the Dauphin's being married to his
 Daughter *Elizabeth*, in Purſuance of the Trea-
 ty of *Pequigny*, Anno 1475. This had been
 his Maſteſty's principal Inducement for making
 that Peace, and abandoning his old Allie the
 Duke of *Burgundy* ; and according to the
French Hiſtorians, he was ſo touch'd with the
 Perfidiousneſs of King *Lewis*, whom he had
 ſuffer'd to make ſuch a Progreſs in the *Low*
Countries upon a Proſpect of this Marriage,
 that the Diſappointment contributed to his
 laſt Illneſs, of which he died. The *French*
 King did not ſurvive him a Year, of whom
 their Writers give this Character : That he
 was by Nature neither beneficent nor liberal,
 though he ſeem'd to be ſo when his Affairs
 requir'd it. He ſpar'd no Coſts to purchaſe
 an Intereſt in the Councils of the neighbouring
 Princes, or to debauch their chief Miniſters ;
 to gain the Governors of Towns, corrupt Am-
 baſſadors, and embarraſs his Enemies. To
 make an eſtimate of him from his outward
 Behaviour, he was a very Religious Prince :
 He went to Confefſion once a Week, took
 frequent Pilgrimages, paid a great Veneration

King of
England
dies.

K. *Lewis*
dies.

to the Relicks of Saints, and bestow'd many Gifts on Churches. But this did not make him a strict Observer of his Promises and Oaths, or less deceitful and vindictive; tho' he does not seem to have acted so much the Hypocrite in Religion, as to have entertain'd a Notion that those external Performances wou'd atone for the Defects of true Piety, which made him scrupulous sometimes in Trifles, while he perpetrated the greatest Villanies without Remorse. He accomplish'd his Design of making himself absolute Master of his Nobility, which he had always aim'd at, but was not very nice in the means of effecting it, and wanting the Hearts of his Subjects, was never perfectly easy. He left one Son named *Charles*.

Charles
VIII.
1483.

Charles the Eighth at his Accession was about fourteen Years of Age, and consequently had pass'd his Minority according to the irrevocable Ordinance, as it is call'd, of *Charles V*; but as the Understanding of Princes is not superiour to that of other People of these Years, and the late King had taken particular Care that his Son shou'd not be vers'd in Politics, or let into the Mysteries of State, lest he shou'd be practis'd upon by designing Courtiers, this Prince of all others cou'd not be suppos'd at such an Age to bear the Weight of Government in his own Person, and therefore *Lewis XI* had before his Death appointed one on whom he might rely for the management of his Affairs, and exercise the supreme Authority in his Son's Name; and this was *Madam de Beaujieu*, the Wife of *Peter de Bourbon* of *Beaujieu* the late King's eldest Daughter and Sister to his present Majesty, a Lady every way qualified for such a Trust: He

design'd

design'd however, that her Husband Monsieur *de Beaujieu* shou'd assist her in the Administration, tho' he did not name him, because there were some Princes of the Blood nearer to the Crown, that might dispute this Post with him, who cou'd not make the same Objection to the Princess the King's Sister.

But notwithstanding all the prudent Foresight of *Lewis XI*, he was no sooner dead but there arose two powerful Competitors, who disputed the supreme Direction of Affairs with *Madam de Beaujieu*, namely, *Lewis Duke of Orleans* the presumptive Heir of the Crown, and *John Duke of Bourbon* eldest Brother of Monsieur *Beaujieu*, whose mature Age, and the Services he had done the Kingdom, rendered his Pretensions plausible; but *Madam de Beaujieu* offering to refer the Matter to the Determination of the States, which the Rest cou'd not with any Colour oppose, and having the Administration in her Hands, in the mean Time so establish'd her Interest, that the Pretensions of the Duke of *Orleans* were scarce consider'd, and she had bought off the Duke of *Bourbon*, by promising him the Post of Constable, which she knew he was ambitious of.

The Duke of *Orleans*, piqu'd at his Disappointment, enter'd into a Confederacy with the Duke of *Britany*, and several of the French Nobility, against the Court; but *Madam de Beaujieu* was so expeditious in assembling an Army, and marching against them, before the Confederates cou'd join their Troops, that the Duke of *Orleans* submitted, and agreed to lay down his Arms, upon Condition he might obtain the King's Pardon, which was granted him. But I shou'd have remembred, that while the Duke of *Orleans* was at the Court

The Dukes of *Orleans* and *Britany* become Male-contents.

of

of the Duke of *Britany* forming this Confederacy against *Madam de Beaujieu*, he saw there the Princess *Anne*, eldest Daughter and Heir-
 ess of that Duke, to whom he made his Ad-
 dresses as a Lover, in which he was rival'd
 by several of the greatest Princes in *Europe*;
 and this was the Foundation of several great
 Events, as will appear in the ensuing History.

The D. of
Britany of-
 fers to as-
 sist the E.
 of *Rich-*
mond to
 depose K.
Richard
 III. 1484.

Henry Earl of *Richmond*, the Heir of the
 House of *Lancaster*, being at this Time a
 Prisoner in the Court of the Duke of *Britany*,
 and the Duke expecting every Day to feel the
 Resentment of the *French* Court for his assist-
 ing the Duke of *Orleans*, offer'd to give the
 Earl his Liberty, and furnish him with Ships
 and Forces to mount the Throne of *England*,
 upon Condition that he wou'd assist *Britany*
 against the Attempts of the *French*, when he
 shou'd see himself Master of that Kingdom;
 and this he apprehended wou'd be easily ef-
 fected, as King *Richard*, who had murder'd
 his two Nephews, and been guilty of many
 other Barbarities to make his way to the
 Crown, had rendred himself universally detest-
 ed by his Subjects. The Earl of *Richmond*,
 who had been confin'd near fifteen Years, was
 not backward we may be sure to exchange
 his Prison for a Crown, and made no scruple
 of promising to support the *Britons* against
 their Enemies if he succeeded. The Duke of
Britany therefore having provided him fifteen
 large Ships, and put five thousand Men on
 board, the Earl set sail with them for *England*,
 but the Fleet being soon after dispers'd by a
 Storm, he was forc'd to return to *Diep*, which
 indeed was his Preservation, for King *Richard*
 having discover'd the Conspiracy, had fallen
 upon the Earl's Adherents, and defeated them,
 and

and it is highly probable, the Earl wou'd have fallen into his Hands, if the Storm had not prevented the Descent. The Earl at his return to *Britany* found that Court strangely alter'd, for the old Duke being taken ill, and for some time delirious, King *Richard* had by bribing *Laudois* his prime Minister, won him over to his Interest, and obtain'd a Promise from him, to deliver the Earl of *Richmond* into his Hands, of which he had scarce an Hour's notice before he was to have been seiz'd; he fled immediately to the *French* Court, desiring their Protection; here he met with fair Words and Promises, but that Court did not seem very forward in promoting his Enterprize upon *England*; the *French* Historians indeed relate, that they furnish'd him with a Fleet of Ships, and four thousand of their best Troops; but notwithstanding there were several *English* Noblemen and Gentlemen in this Expedition, I don't find that the Earl of *Richmond's* whole Force amounted to two thousand Men, when he made his second Attempt upon *England*. He set Sail from *Havre de Grace* the first of *August* 1485, and arriv'd at *Milford Haven* in *Wales* a few days after, where he was join'd by the Gentlemen of the Country, and their Numbers encreasing every Day, he march'd to *Leicester*, and gave Battle to King *Richard* on the two and twentieth of *August*. The King being defeated and kill'd in the Engagement, the Earl of *Richmond* was immediately Proclaim'd King of *England* by the Army, by the Name of *Henry VII*: On which great Event I shall enlarge in the Description of *England*.

1485.

In

1486.

In the mean time the Duke of *Orleans* not being pleas'd with the Administration in *France*, retir'd again into *Britany*, where the Ministry had made an Alliance with the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, now King of the *Romans*, who since the Decease of his late Wife *Mary* of *Burgundy*, made his Addreses also to the Princess of *Britany*. The *French* Court being determin'd to pursue the Duke of *Orleans*, march'd with an Army towards the Frontiers of *Britany*, whereupon the King of the *Romans* attack'd *France* from the *Low Countries*, and oblig'd them to desist from that Enterprize for the present.

1487.

The *French* renew'd their Design against *Britany* in the Year 1487, and at the same time attack'd the Territories of the King of the *Romans* in the *Netherlands*, and having corrupted the Subjects of these Princes, and fomented an Insurrection against them in their very Bowels, were very confident of Success in both these Enterprizes; nor were their Expectations disappointed, for they surpriz'd *Terouen* and *St. Omers* in the *Low Countries*, and defeated the Forces of the King of the *Romans*.

1488.

In *Britany* they obtain'd a decisive Victory, and took the Duke of *Orleans* Prisoner; after which they put what Terms they pleas'd upon the old Duke of *Britany*, they oblig'd him to dismiss all such Foreigners as had come to his Assistance, to deliver up several of his strong Towns into their Hands, and promise not to marry his Daughter and Heiress to any Person without the Consent of the *French* Court. This Treaty was made the 28th of *August*, and about ten Days after the Duke of *Britany* died. In the mean time the States of *Flanders* confederated together against the
King

King of the *Romans*, and made him Prisoner at *Bruges*, which occasion'd a War between *Flanders* and the other Provinces, so that the *French* had nothing to apprehend on that side. The King of the *Romans* was indeed restor'd to his Liberty again after four Months imprisonment, one of the Conditions whereof was, that he shou'd use his utmost Endeavours to make Peace with *France*: But the Emperor, Father to the King of the *Romans*, soon after marching to his Assistance, *Maximilian* was about to take a severe Revenge of the *Rebellious Flemmings*, who thereupon call'd in the *French*, and found him Employment for some time.

Maximilian K. of the *Romans* imprison'd by his Subjects.

But to return to *Britany*: The *French* Court pretended that this *Dutchy* was devolv'd on the Crown of *France* for want of Heirs Male, and thereupon order'd their Troops to make themselves Masters of as many Towns as they could. The King of *England* apprehending the ill Consequences of suffering this Country to be united to the Crown of *France*, sent six thousand Men to the Assistance of the *Dutch*, who oblig'd the *French* to abandon several Towns they had possess'd themselves of, and prevented their reducing *Britany* this Campaign. However the *English* receiving no Pay, and the *Breton* Nobility disagreeing among themselves, most of the *English* return'd home. The *French* King had now a fair Opportunity of subduing this Province; but considering he was never likely to enjoy it quietly, if the Princess *Anne* should happen to marry any Prince of Figure in *Europe*, he determin'd to marry her himself, notwithstanding he was already contracted to *Margaret* of *Austria* Daughter to the King of the *Romans*. While the

The *French* seize *Britany*.

Oppos'd by the *English*.

The Princess mar-
ries the
K. of the
Romans.

1489.

1490.

1491.

King was deliberating on this Project, the Princess *Anne* and the King of the *Romans* came to an Agreement, and were Married by Proxy, at which the *French* were very much alarm'd ; for as the King of the *Romans* was Master of the *Low Countries*, if he had been so of *Britany* he would always have had it in his Power to give the *French* a great deal of Disturbance : King *Charles* therefore not regarding his Contract with *Mary* of *Austria*, or the Espousals of the King of the *Romans* with the Princess, sent a Deputation to her with Proposals of Marriage, and having brib'd every one of her Council to persuade her to it, he promis'd himself Success ; but the Princess, young as she was, discover'd a great deal of Spirit and Resentment on this Occasion : She had conceiv'd an Opinion of the King of the *Romans*, and had a perfect Aversion to the *French* King and his whole Nation, for the Calamities they had brought upon her Father and her Country. Upon the first Proposal of the Match therefore she broke out into the most passionate Exclamations against them : She reflected on the Alliances she had made with the Kings of *England* and *Spain*, who had engaged to support her : but insisted with the greatest warmth on her Marriage with *Maximilian* in the Face of the Church, and declar'd she could never do a thing so shocking to her Conscience ; and had her Allies been as near with their Reinforcements as her Enemy was, there is no doubt but she would have persisted in her Resolution : But the King of *France*, who had already assembled his Troops, and was not far from the Confines of her Country with a powerful Army, attending the Success of this Negotiation, being acquainted with the Resolution

Resolution of the Princess, and at the same time advis'd by her treacherous Council to hasten his March before any Succours could arrive to her Assistance, he invested the City of *Rennes*, where the Princess was, before she had any Notice of his March, and so terrified her with his Preparations to storm the City, that she submitted to the Advice of her Council, who perswaded her that she had no other Means left to preserve her self and her Country: They represented also, that as the former Marriage was not Consummated, a Dispensation might easily be obtain'd from the Pope, which in those Days was thought sufficient to satisfy the most scrupulous Conscience. Thus this Villainous Ministry betray'd their Sovereign into the Hands of a Man whom of all others she detested; and the Marriage was solemnized and consummated the 13th of *December* 1491, even before any Application was made to the Holy See for a Dispensation; it was apprehended soon enough to procure that at any time before Issue was born: I don't find the *French* King's Precontract with *Mary* of *Austria* was much regarded neither, tho' she had born the Title of Dauphiness for several Years; that Princess was upon this Occasion sent back to her Father to compleat the Affront: Which sufficiently manifests how little the most solemn Oaths and Contracts of Princes are to be depended on. This very King *Charles*, by a Treaty between the Kings of *France* and *England*, was first to have married the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Edward* IV, which was broke through without any manner of Excuse, that he might espouse *Mary* of *Austria*; and now this Princess is discarded in order to ravish the Princess of

The
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forces the
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Britany : I can call it no better than a Rape, where one comes with an armed Power and forces a Lady to his Bed. By the same means he oblig'd her to marry him, he compell'd her to sign an Instrument to which he gave the Name of a Treaty of Marriage, where in Consideration of the Honour he did the Princess in taking her to his Wife, she resigns all her Right in the Dutchy of *Britany* to the King and his Successors, notwithstanding it should happen that she died without Issue before him : and in case he died before her, she was oblig'd to marry the succeeding King, or next Prince of the Blood ; but if she had no Issue by his present Majesty, it was granted in her Favour that she should possess her Dutchy of *Britany* during Life. As to the Success of this forc'd Marriage, it is observ'd that tho' the King had three Children by her, viz. a Dauphin and two Princesses, they all died in the Cradle, and after a very short Reign the Kingdom descended to a collateral Branch of the Royal Family ; and had the Children surviv'd, their Legitimacy might very well have been question'd on more Accounts than one.

1492.

The King of the *Romans* was provok'd beyond all Bounds when he heard of the Match, and spoke of it in such Terms as it deserv'd : And not content with drawing up Memorials and Declarations against it, he form'd an Alliance with the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, in order to revenge so insupportable an Affront. The two Kings readily came into his Measures, and the Parliament of *England* were so sensible that the Union of *Britany* to the *French* Crown would be of dangerous Consequence to them, that they made no scruple of granting

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ing his Majesty the Supplies he ask'd. The King thereupon immediately assembled a gallant Army of twenty-five thousand Men, and transported them to *Calais*; but when he arriv'd there the King of the *Romans* Forces were not rais'd, and the *Spaniards* he found were as much unprepared as the *Germans*; whereupon the *French* King making Proposals of Peace to him, and backing them with such a Bribe as was not easily to be resisted, especially by a Prince of *Henry* the Seventh's covetous Disposition, namely, seven hundred and forty-five thousand Crowns, an immense Sum in those Days, he consented to a Peace and return'd to *England*, by which and the Money that was given him to carry on the War by the Parliament of *England*, and some other rapacious Projects, he heap'd together a prodigious Treasure, insomuch that he was esteem'd one of the richest Princes that ever sat on the *English* Throne.

The K. of
England
invades
France.

A Peace
concluded.

The King of the *Romans*, we may believe, storm'd sufficiently upon this Occasion, nor were the *English* Parliament perfectly satisfied, to see the Taxes they had rais'd for the War put in the King's Pocket, without having effected any thing; but they were answer'd, that the King had done very prudently, and sav'd them a great deal of Treasure, by putting so sudden an End to the War, and therefore they had no Reason to complain. The *French* King and the King of the *Romans* soon after clapt up a Peace, whereby the *French* renounc'd the Earldoms of *Artois*, *Burgundy* and *Charolois*, which were to have been the Portion of *Margaret* of *Austria* if the King had married her: The *French* King also gave up his Right in *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* to the *Spaniard*,

1493.

An Expedition
of the
French
against
Naples.

Spaniard, whereby he procur'd a Peace with that Prince; and all these Concessions he was induc'd to make, that he might be at liberty to pursue his favourite Project upon the Kingdom of *Naples*. Some Writers are of Opinion he had a Design to have subdued all *Italy*. He had indeed a specious Pretence to the Kingdom of *Naples*, as he was Heir to the Duke of *Anjou*, whom *Joan* Queen of that Kingdom had adopted, tho' scarce any of the Family had been in Possession of it for any time. The *French* also laid claim to *Genoa*, and some other Territories in *Italy*, and cou'd they once have establish'd themselves in *Naples*, possibly wou'd not have wanted Pretences to have seiz'd the rest, which the *Italian* Princes cou'd not but foresee, and for that reason were generally in a Confederacy against *France*. But *Lewis*, surnamed *Morus*, or the *Black Duke of Milan*, who had the Regency of that Dutchy during the Minority of his Nephew *John Galeas*, the true Heir, and had found an Opportunity of making himself Master of it to the exclusion of his Ward, apprehending he might be depos'd by *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, whose Grandaughter had married *John Galeas*, incited the *French* King to assert his Title to *Naples*, promising he wou'd favour his Pretensions, upon Condition that *France* wou'd maintain him in the Dutchy of *Milan*. The Pope also, upon some Assurances given him that the *French* King wou'd advance his Family, and grant him a Territory in the Kingdom of *Naples*, was induc'd to come into their Measures.

1494.

Ferdinand King of *Naples*, 'tis said, was so terrified at this formidable Confederacy against him, that he fell ill, and died upon it, and

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was succeeded by his Son *Alphonfus*, a Prince hated by the *Neopolitans*, and fear'd by the neighbouring Powers, as his Father had been. In the mean time the *French* King order'd the Rendezvous of his Forces to be at *Lyons*, from whence he march'd through *Piedmont*, and arriv'd at *Asti* on the ninth of *September*, where he fell ill of the Small Pox, but being out of danger in a Week's time, he sent Ambassadors to the several States of *Italy*, to declare that he had no Design upon their Liberties, his only View was to procure the Restitution of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which belong'd to him, and afterwards to march against the *Turks* for the general Advantage of Christendom. The King afterwards continued his march thro' the Territories of *Milan*, where he was attended by *Lewis* the Usurper, with great Professions of Friendship and Esteem, tho' the *French* understood he was endeavouring at the same time to embarrass their Affairs, and even entring into a Confederacy with the rest of the *Italian* Princes to ruin their Army, whereupon the King held a Council of War, to deliberate whether he shou'd advance any further, and it being carried for proceeding in the Enterprize, he continued his March to the Frontiers of *Tuscany*, where that Duke came to meet him, and deliver'd up to him *Serresana*, *Serresanello*, and *Pietra Santa*, which defended the Passes into his Country, to the surprize of the rest of the *Italian* Princes, for by this means he gave the *French* an Opportunity of seizing his Territories, when great Part of their Army must have perish'd if he had oppos'd them in that barren Country, the *French* having brought scarce any Provisions along with them. This Submission of the
Florentines

The
French
enters
Rome.

Florentines remov'd the greatest Difficulties in the Expedition. The *French* King continued his March, and made a kind of a Triumphant Entry into *Lucca* and *Pisa*, in the last of which Places he left a Garrison, and advanc'd to the City of *Florence*, where the Inhabitants unwillingly rais'd him 50000 Ducats. He came with his Army soon after into the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, to the great Terror of the Pope, who notwithstanding he had invited the *French* King into *Italy*, had since alter'd his Mind, and enter'd into a Conspiracy to destroy his Army, which the King was not unacquainted with: He durst not however oppose his coming to *Rome*; whereupon the K. King made his entry into that City on the 31st of *December* 1494 by Torch light, at the Head of his Troops, whom he order'd to seize upon all the important Posts about the Town. The Pope at first shut himself up in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, but upon his Majesty's summoning him, and bringing his Artillery before it, his Holiness consented to a Treaty, wherein he agreed, that the *French* shou'd remain in possession of *Viterbo*, *Teracina*, *Civita Vecchia* and *Spoletto*, which the King had made himself Master of in his March. Afterwards the Pope return'd to his Palace of the Vatican, where the King made him a Visit. It was observ'd, that his Holiness was very lavish of his Honours towards this Prince, of whom he stood in the utmost dread, and even gave orders that Justice shou'd be administred in his Name while he staid in *Rome*; in all outward appearance there was a perfect Reconciliation between them, and that the King might not suspect his Sincerity, he order'd his Son the Cardinal of *Valence* to attend him

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in the Expedition. His Majesty having staid about a Month in *Rome*, advanc'd with his Army towards *Naples*, hearing every Day of the Revolt of some Town or other in that Kingdom, *Alphonfus* being univerſally hated for his Tyranny, of which that Prince was ſo ſenſible, that he ſurrendered his Crown to his Son *Ferdinand*, as the moſt effectual way to preſerve it in his Family, and afterwards fled to *Sicily*. But *Ferdinand* was not able to ſtop the Progreſs of the *French*, his Army abandon'd him, *Capua*, and even the City of *Naples* ſurrendered without ſtriking a Stroke, every Town in the Kingdom ſubmitted except *Brundufium* and *Gallipoli*; whereupon *Ferdinand* retir'd to the Iſland of *Iſchia*, with his Family and ſome Troops that remain'd faithful to him, in hopes of maintaining himſelf there, till he ſhould meet with a favourable Opportunity of returning to his Throne, for he knew that the Emperor and the *Italian* States had enter'd into a Confederacy againſt the *French* King; and this Prince ſeems appriz'd of it by the haſt he made from thence: He begun his March towards *France* the twentieth of May 1495, with an Army of nine or ten thouſand Men; the reſt he left with the Count of *Montpenſier* to ſecure his Conqueſts. When he came to *Rome*, the Pope had retir'd to *Perugia*, and wou'd not ſee him; and his Son, whom he had left with the King as an Hoſtage, had made his Escape. Here his Majesty receiv'd Intelligence, that his Enemies had drawn their Forces together, and wou'd render his Retreat very difficult, as he afterwards found it; for they fell upon him at *Fornona*, and had infallibly defeated him, if Part of their Army which had routed his left Wing, had not fallen

1495.

1497.

upon the Baggage, and thereby given him an Opportunity of rallying his Troops, and continuing his March, which he did with the utmost Hazard, and came to *Lyons* the seventh of *November*. The *French King* had no sooner left the Kingdom of *Naples*, but *Ferdinand* assisted by *Gonsalvo*, a celebrated *Spanish General*, return'd thither, and attack'd *Regio*, which surrendred to them, with several other Towns ; they afterwards met with a Defeat, but being re-inforc'd, and making a second Attempt, the whole Country in a short time return'd to the Obedience of King *Ferdinand*, most of the *French* perishing either by Sicknes or the Sword. Such, says a *French Historian*, was the Success of *Charles* the Eighth's Enterprize upon *Naples* : An Enterprize undertaken with much Imprudence, continu'd with wonderful Success, and at length shamefully abandon'd with the Loss of a great Number of brave Men. This was the last remarkable Event in his Reign. He died suddenly on the seventh of *April* 1498, in the twenty-eighth Year of his Age, and the fifteenth of his Reign, leaving no Issue, though he had several Children who died in their Cradles. He was succeeded by *Lewis Duke of Orleans*.

1498.

Lewis XII. *Lewis XII* begun his Reign at a mature Age, being in his thirty-seventh Year ; and as he was naturally a Prince of an excellent Temper and Genius, improv'd by Experience, render'd his People extremely happy. He continu'd all the Officers of State in their Posts, some of whom had dealt very roughly with him in the preceding Reign ; but he endeavour'd to forget all the ill usage he had receiv'd when he came to the Crown : And that the People as well as the Court might taste of the Lenity of his

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his Administration, he remitted first a Tenth, and afterwards a Third of the usual Taxes. He also regulated the Courts of Justice, and endeavour'd to redress the Extortions that were committed under the Colour of Law. But among so many commendable Actions, there was one which carried but a very indifferent Aspect, and that was his Marriage with the late Queen, the Heiress of *Britany*; to effect which he was forc'd first to divorce the Princess *Jane* the Daughter of King *Lewis VII*, who had liv'd with him as his Wife for twenty Years. He pretended indeed that her Father had oblig'd him to marry her when he was but fifteen Years of Age, and that he then privately made a Protest in form, and declar'd he would never touch her, tho' outwardly to avoid that King's Displeasure he treated her as a Wife. But had not the Queen he afterwards married been Heiress of *Britany*, with which he must have parted if she had married elsewhere, possibly he had never thought of a Divorce from the Princess *Jane*; unless the Disagreeableness of her Person might be some Inducement, for she was very deform'd and infirm; tho' this one would have thought should have occasion'd it sooner if at all. He had indeed the Approbation of the Pope for all this, which was thought sufficient in those Days to sanctify the most flagrant Crimes; and as it was in his Majesty's Power at this time to oblige his Holiness in some Temporal Concerns, he soon procur'd the matter to be dispatch'd at the Court of *Rome*. Pope *Alexander VI*. was now about to make the Fortunes of his Son the famous *Cæsar Borgia*, who quitted a Cardinal's Cap in order to be a Temporal Prince; his Holiness hoping to effect his De-

1499.

sign chiefly by the Assistance of the *French* King, made *Cesar* the Bearer of the Bull for the Divorce, and in pursuance of a Treaty concluded between them, the King then gave him the *Dutchy of Valentinois*, a Pension of twenty thousand *Livres per Ann.* with a Post in the Army. He also agreed to procure him *Charlotte* the Sister of the Queen of *Navarre* for a Wife, and to put him into Possession of several Towns in *Italy*; for the Pope and the *French* were in a Confederacy against the Duke of *Milan*, and the King was just upon the point of entring *Italy* with his Army to attack that *Dutchy*, while the *Venetians* penetrated it on the other side.

The
French in-
vade *Milan*

The Duke of *Milan* had assembled an Army of eighteen or twenty thousand Men to oppose the *French* and *Venetians*; but having no Allies, and being betray'd by his Officers and Generals, the whole *Dutchy* was lost within twenty Days, except the Castle of *Milan*, and he himself forc'd to retire into *Germany*: The Castle also surrender'd within a few Days, whereupon the *French* King made a Triumphant Entry into that City on the sixteenth of *October* 1499; after which he gave *Cesar Borgia* the Command of four thousand *Swiss* and three hundred Launces, in order to recover those Towns he had stipulated to put him in Possession of: And having conferr'd the Government of the *Milanes*e on *Trivulca*, a Person of a haughty violent Spirit, he return'd to *France*. The new Governor behav'd himself with that Tyranny and Indiscretion, suffering his Soldiers to insult the Natives and abuse their Women, that they soon became ripe for a Revolt; of which their old Duke *Lewis Morus* having Advice, assembled eight or ten thousand *Swiss*, and

and coming before the City, easily made himself Master of it by the Assistance of the Disaffected within; the Garrison retiring into the Castle, most of the Towns in the Dutchy follow'd the Example of the Capital.

The *French* King receiving Advice of the Revolt of the *Milaneſe*, aſſembled a great Army and repaſs'd the *Alps*; but what was of more Service to him than his Forces, was a Treaty he made with the *Swiſs*, who for a Sum of Money betray'd the Duke *Lewis Morus* into his Hands, and he was carried Prisoner into *France*, where he died about ten Years after. His two Sons fled into *Germany* to the Emperor; whereupon the *Milaneſe* once more came under the Power of the *French*. I don't find any Title they had to this Dutchy, but their Writers ſeem to juſtifie the Enterprize on account of the Diſturbance the Duke gave them in their Retreat from *Naples*, adding that he was a Uſurper, and had poiſon'd his Nephew to obtain the Sovereignty, and therefore did not deſerve a better Fate.

This Conqueſt being effected, the King had a Deſign to reduce *Naples*; but the Emperor being offended at his ſeizing of *Milan*, which was a Fee of the Empire, and depoſing the Prince who had been legally inveſted in that Dutchy, and on this account inviting the Princes of the Empire into a Confederacy againſt *France*, the King did not think it prudent to march his Army ſo far from home. Beſides, *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* made him an Offer to divide the Kingdom of *Naples* with him, and depoſe the preſent Prince *Frederick*, who was deſcended from a baſe Branch of the Houſe of *Arragon*, and therefore, as they were pleas'd to infer, could have no legal Title.

And

1500.
The
French and
Spaniards
divide
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between
them.

And it was accordingly agreed, that *Ferdinand* King of *Spain* shou'd have *Apulia* and *Calabria*, as it lay most convenient for him in the Neighbourhood of *Sicily* which belong'd to him; and that the *French* King should have the North part of *Naples*, containing the *Abruzzo* and *Naples Proper*. The Pope also came into this Treaty in Hopes of augmenting the Territories of his Son *Cesar Borgia*, now Duke of *Valentinois*.

The King of *Naples* in the mean time publish'd Manifesto upon Manifesto, asserting his Right to that Kingdom, but having neither Forces or Allies to support him, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, each of them, sent an Army, and took Possession of the Country, dividing it between them according to the above-said Treaty, and the Pope granted them the Investiture of their respective Shares. King *Frederick* having shut himself up in the Castle *del Ovo* in *Naples*, soon found himself oblig'd to capitulate, and was permitted by the *French* General to retire to the Island of *Ischia*; some time after he obtain'd Leave to come to *France*, and transferr'd all his Right to the Kingdom of *Naples* to King *Lewis*, who thereupon granted him the Dutchy of *Anjou*, and thirty thousand Ducats *per Annum*, which he enjoy'd till he died.

A War between the Kings of *France* and *Spain* on the Division of *Naples*.

1502.

The settling the Limits in the Kingdom of *Naples* between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, occasion'd a War between them, which lasted about two Years, when the Duke of *Nemours*, the *French* General, was entirely defeated and kill'd in the Field of Battle, whereupon the whole Country submitted to the *Spaniards*. The *French* Writers relate, that their Troops were successful till their King suffer'd himself

to

to be amus'd by a Treaty, which occasion'd his not sending timely Re-inforcements, while the King of *Spain* continu'd to send Supplies from time to time, and thereby gain'd such a Superiority that there was no making Head against him, whereupon the *French* were driven out of the Country, and most of them perish'd before they reach'd *France*, (which has been their Fate more than once in their Attempts upon *Naples*). The same Year the *French* were defeated in two Enterprizes against *Spain* on the side of the *Pyrenees*, but a Truce was at length concluded between the two Nations for three Years, which gave the King of *France*, and his Allies the Pope and King of the *Romans*, an Opportunity of falling upon the *Venetians*, whom these Princes were determin'd to destroy. The *French* King was highly provok'd with them for their treacherous underhand Dealings, whereby they cross'd his Designs in the *Neapolitan* War. The Pope was exasperated against them for seizing some of the Towns he laid Claim to in *Romania*; and the King of the *Romans* had much the same Cause of Complaint against them. The Duke of *Ferrara*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, the Republick of *Florence*, and the King of *Hungary*, also came into the Confederacy against them, every one of these States having Pretensions to some Town or Territory the *Venetians* had possess'd themselves of, insomuch that it was evident if every one of the Parties in the Confederacy were to be satisfied in their respective Demands, *Venice* wou'd not have a Foot of Land left upon the Continent. The Design of the Allies was indeed entirely to demolish their State: They were animated more by a Spirit of Revenge against that proud Republick,

1503.

1504.
A Confederacy against the *Venetians*.

1508.

Republick, for pretending to be the Umpire of the Affairs of *Europe*, and to hold the Balance amongst them, than by the Hopes of obtaining Satisfaction on their antiquated Claims. And had the Execution of the Treaty been as speedy as it was intended, the *Venetians* had infallibly been ruin'd: But the Delays made by the King of the *Romans*, and a dangerous Fit of Illness which seiz'd the *French* King, gave the *Venetians* an Opportunity of applying to the Pope, and drawing him off from this formidable Alliance; whereupon all the other Parties laid aside the Design for the present. This Confederacy against the *Venetians* was however reviv'd again in the Year 1508, and the King of *Spain* also came into it, on account of some Towns in *Apulia* which they had possess'd themselves of during the *Neapolitan* War, and refus'd to deliver up. The *Venetians* offer'd the Pope a Town or two, in order to appease him, and made their Application to the Emperor to divert him from the War, but all the Parties to the League were immovable, and remain'd determin'd to destroy the Republick; whereupon they rais'd an Army, garrison'd their Towns, and made all necessary Preparations for their Defence. The King of *France* took the Field against them first, and having pass'd the *Alps*, sent a Herald to declare War against them. The Pope at the same time publish'd a thundering Bull against the Republick, requiring them to restore the Towns and Territories they had usurp'd from the Holy See on Pain of an Interdict and eternal Damnation, which the *Venetians* answer'd by a Manifesto.

In

1509.

In the mean time the *French* Army advanc'd, and came to an Engagement with the Forces of the Republick on the fourteenth of *May* 1509, and defeated them; and within less than three Weeks after the *French* King made himself Master of *Cremona*, *Bresse*, *Bergama*, *Crema*, and of all the other Towns and Castles he pretended belong'd to him as part of the Dutchy of *Milan*, and had been dismember'd from it. At the same time the Duke of *Ferrara*, who commanded the Pope's Forces, enter'd *Romania*, and took *Ravenna* and *Fuenza*, the most considerable Towns he had demanded of them. He seiz'd also upon the Territory denominated the *Polesin de Rovigo*, which he alledg'd the *Venetians* had dismember'd from his Dutchy of *Ferrara*. The Duke of *Brunswick*, the Emperor's General, also retook *Trieste* and several other Towns from them, and the Marquiss of *Mantua* others, which put the Republick into the utmost Consternation. They apply'd themselves hereupon to the Emperor, the Pope and the King of *Spain*, offering to submit to any Terms if they wou'd break with the *French*: and they were so successful in their Negotiations with the King of *Spain*, that he offer'd to make Peace with them on Condition they wou'd restore the Towns in *Apulia*, which they did. The Pope they found alarm'd at the great Progress of the *French* Arms in *Italy*, and prevail'd with him to desert his Confederates and join in an Alliance with the *Swiss* and their State to drive the *French* out of *Italy*. The King of *England* also acceded to this Treaty, and was to attack *France* on the side of *Picardy* by way of Diverfion. The King of *France* on the other hand enter'd into a more

1510.

strict Alliance with the Emperor, and by the Assistance of five Cardinals devoted to their Interest who fled from *Rome*, they call'd a General Council at *Pisa* to enquire into the means by which the Pope acquir'd the Pontificate, and threaten'd to depose him and set up another in his room, which gave his Holiness no small Uneasiness. The *French* King also attack'd and took the City of *Bolonia* from the Pope, and defeated his Forces; and as the *French* Writers affirm, was in a Condition at this time to have made himself Master of *Rome* it self, and even of all *Italy*, if he would have attempted it: But he observed, that the greater were his Conquests, and the further he advanced in this Country, the more Enemies he created. The *Spaniards* were afraid of *Naples*, and neither *England* or the Emperor cou'd with good Policy see the *French* add *Italy* to their Monarchy. The Pope therefore knowing he should be well supported, was so far from submitting to the *French*, that he call'd a General Council at *St. John de Lateran's* in *Rome*, in Opposition to that of *Pisa*, in order to render all their Decrees ineffectual; and proceeded to anathematize the Cardinals and Prelates that compos'd it. He laid the Town of *Pisa* also under an Interdict for harbouring them, whereupon a Tumult was rais'd by the Citizens, and they were forc'd to remove to *Milan*.

1511. In the mean time the *Swiss* attack'd the *French* in the *Milanese* on one side, while the Pope and the *Spaniards* made Head against them on the other. The King's Forces nevertheless were successful still against the Pope, the *Spaniards*, the *Venetians* and the *Swiss*, till
England

England declar'd War against *France*, and then the *French* found themselves under a Necessity of withdrawing most of their Forces out of *Italy*, whereby they lost *Milan* and all their Conquests on that side the *Alps* in almost as short a time as they made them. The King of *England* demanded *Normandy* and all the Territories in *France* which formerly belong'd to the *English*; and having the Emperor for his Allie, the *French* King thought it more advisable to abandon his foreign Conquests than hazard the Loss of his own Kingdom. Upon the Retreat of the *French*, *Maximilian Sforza*, Son of the late Duke, had the Dutchy of *Milan* restor'd him by the *Venetians* and the *Swiss*. The Republick of *Genoa* again revolted from the *French*, and all the Princes in *Italy* enjoy'd their respective Territories again, only there were some Disputes which still remain'd between the Pope, the Emperor and *Venetians*. About the same time the *Spaniards* made a Conquest of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, though that Prince was supported by *France*. The *French* King still look'd with a covetous Eye upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, and observing that the *Venetians* were in ill Terms with the Pope and the Emperor, enter'd into an Alliance with that Republick against them; and sending some Troops over the *Alps* that join'd the *Venetians*, he recover'd great part of the *Milanese* again. The *Swiss* and *Spaniards* however soon after obtain'd an entire Victory over the *French* Army, and compell'd them once more to fly the Country, while their miserable Allies the *Venetians* were beaten almost out of the Continent, retaining no other Towns there but *Padua* and *Trevisa*.

The
French
driven
out of
Italy, and
the *Venetians*
almost
out of the
Continent

1513.
The end
of the
Council
of Pisa.

The *French* ascribe all their ill Success in this *Italian* War to the Invasion of their Country by the *English* and Imperialists on the side of *Flanders*, of which I am next to give an account; only for the Satisfaction of those who may be inquisitive to know what became of the Council of *Pisa*, I must first take Notice that this Council having been adjourn'd from *Pisa* to *Milan*, was upon the late Revolution in the *Milanese* adjourn'd to the City of *Lyons* in *France*; whereupon the Pope laid that Kingdom under an Interdict, and especially *Lyons* where it was held. While the King in vain endeavour'd to establish the Council, and persuade other Princes to join with him upon that occasion, the Emperor declar'd that he adher'd to the Council of *Lateran*, and revok'd every thing he had done in favour of the other, condemning all the Resolutions of the *Gallican Church* on that Subject. And though this Pope died in *February* 1512-13, and was succeeded by *Leo* the Tenth, a Prelate of a much more peaceable Disposition, the Interest of the *French* at *Rome* was not at all improv'd, and they were at length oblig'd to drop the Council of *Pisa*.

War
between
France and
England.

The War between *France* and *England* was carried on as well by Sea as Land: their Fleets engaged twice, but there happen'd nothing decisive at Sea. The most considerable Action was near *St. Malo's* in *Britany*, where the two Admirals grappling together, took Fire and were blown up, whereby a multitude of Men were lost; for the *French* Admiral alone, 'tis said, had 1200 Men on board. The first Attempt the *English* made by Land was in *Guienne* in the Year 1512, whither the *English* sent a good Body of Troops

to join the *Spaniards* ; but the latter instead of uniting their Forces with the *English* for the Recovery of that Dutchy, as had been stipulated, took the Opportunity of this Diversion to seize upon the Kingdom of *Navarre*, as has been related above ; whereupon the *English* return'd home. The following Year 1513, *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England*, embark'd with an Army of five and twenty or thirty thousand Men, and landed at *Calais*, from whence he march'd and laid Siege to *Terouen* in *Flanders*, being join'd by the Emperor *Maximilian* with a Body of Forces almost equal to the *English*. The *French* made an Attempt to raise the Siege, and were handsomely beaten : and as their *Gens d'Armes* did not behave very bravely, but made less Use of their Launces than their Spurs, this Engagement obtain'd the Name of *the Battle of Spurs*. The *French* say this was but a Detachment of their Army that came to the Relief of *Terouen*, and that they did not make their utmost Efforts to raise the Siege, because they were oblig'd to send part of their Troops into *Burgundy* to make Head against the *Swiss* and Imperialists, who had enter'd their Country on that side. But whatever their Reasons were for not venturing a general Battle, *Terouen* surrender'd after a Siege of nine Weeks ; after which the Confederates laid Siege to *Tournay*, and took it, and this put an end to the Campaign. *James* the Fourth of *Scotland*, according to the Custom of that Nation, invaded *England* while King *Henry* was engag'd in the *French* War, but had the Misfortune to be defeated and kill'd at *Floddon Field*. The *French* King after such a Train of ill Success, endeavour'd to obtain a Peace with *England*, which he effected

Peace
between
France and
England.

effected by marrying the Princess *Mary*, the Sister of King *Henry* the Eighth, and paying that Prince a million of Crowns towards the Charges of the War. Some *English* Politicians were not pleas'd with this Treaty, apprehending that King *Harry* had such a Superiority of Troops, and such powerful Allies, that he might have made himself Master of *Normandy* and even of all *France*: while others held that admitting the Conquest of *France* could have been effected, it must have cost *England* a great deal of Blood and Treasure; for which the *English* could have expected nothing in return, but to have been made a Province to the larger Kingdom, and had they retained *Normandy* or any other part of *France*, this wou'd only have engag'd them in perpetual Wars, to maintain which the Nation must have been burthen'd with Taxes. Nor is this the only Reason why a Subject of *England* should be averse to foreign Conquests, there is still another more substantial than the former and that is the endangering his Liberty and Property; for foreign Territories must be maintain'd by standing Forces, which an arbitrary Prince may bring over at Pleasure and with them levy what Money he pleases upon his Subjects at home. Nothing is more evident than that as Money will raise Soldiers, Soldiers will raise Money if they want it provided they are quarter'd in a Country where it is to be had: And for this Reason some People are against our having so much as a single Town on the other side the Water because it will ever furnish the Prince with a specious Pretence to raise an Army to defend it, when he is pleas'd to say it is in Danger.

But to reflect a little further on the Wisdom of our Ancestors. The reason of their entering into this War was to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*, then as well as now a very powerful Kingdom; and as soon as they had compell'd her to relinquish all her new Acquisitions, and reduc'd her to her former Bounds, they had gain'd their Point: They had no Intention to destroy the *French* Nation, or bring it to such a State that it might not be in a Condition to check the Ambition of the Emperor: This had been over-doing it, and only pulling down one exorbitant Power to create another. And the same Wisdom seem'd to reign in the *English* Councils at the Peace of *Utrecht*: They found the *French* sufficiently humbled, and had put the Imperialists in Possession of several fine Countries that were taken from them. But they thought it highly advisable to stop here, and not aggrandize the Emperor to that degree as to render him as terrible in *Europe* as the *French* had been. And yet had we a Set of Politicians amongst us, that nothing would satisfy but a total Extirpation of the *French*. They had not Foresight enough to discern, that in a very few Years we might want their Assistance to balance the Power of the Emperor, tho' they have since been sufficiently convinc'd of their Mistake.

But to return to the *French* King *Lewis XII.* He surviv'd the Peace and his Marriage but a very little while: And those People who will suffer no Event to pass without assigning the Cause of it, assure us that his Death was occasion'd by his too great Complaisance for the young Queen, who was one of the finest Princesses in *Europe*, and whose Demands 'tis suppos'd

suppos'd the old King was perfectly unable to satisfy. But leaving these Gentlemen to their Conjectures, certain it is he was taken ill of a Fever attended with a Dysentery, of which he died on the first of *January* 1514-15, in the fifty-fourth Year of his Age, and the seventeenth of his Reign, having never had any legitimate Issue, whereupon the Crown devolv'd on his second Cousin *Francis*, Count of *Angouleme* and Duke of *Valois*.

Francis,
1514-5.

Francis, Count of *Angouleme* and Duke of *Valois*, Nephew of the late King, succeeded to the Crown in *January* 1514-15, in the 21st Year of his Age.

The
King's
Design
on the
Milanese.

Immediately after his Accession he renew'd the Alliances which his Predecessor had made with the King of *England* and the *Venetians*. By the Treaty with the latter they were oblig'd to assist him in the Conquest of the *Milanese*, and *France* engag'd to recover the Towns the Republick had lost in *Italy*. On the other hand, he found the Pope, the King of *Spain* and the *Swiss*, in a Confederacy against him for the Defence of the *Milanese* and *Maximilian Sforza* the new Duke. He determin'd however to pass the *Alps*, and attempt the Recovery of that Duchy once again, and was encourag'd in this Enterprize by the *Genoese*, who at this time put themselves under the Protection of *France*.

The *Swiss*
oppose
his Pas-
sage in
vain.

The *Swiss* having notice of his Design possess'd themselves of all the usual Passes of the *Alps*; but the King discover'd another a very difficult one, by the Valley of *Barcelonetta*, through which the *French* Armies had never before penetrated into *Italy*; and making a Feint with part of the Army, as if he intended to march the common Road, he

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sent a strong Detachment of his Forces and seiz'd that on the side of *Barcelonette* without any Opposition ; whereupon the *Swiss* withdrew their Troops from the *Alps*, and retir'd into the *Milanese*, whither the *French* follow'd them. The Pope and the *Spaniard* finding the King had actually enter'd *Italy*, began to think of treating with him, and never sent their Forces to join the *Swiss*, as had been agreed, which occasion'd their Defeat at *Marignan*, not far from *Milan*, after they had maintain'd the Fight bravely for two Days, and lost ten or twelve thousand of their Men :

The King enters the *Milanese*, 1515.

And obtains a Victory over the *Swiss*.

The *French* also were so severely handled that they did not think fit to pursue them. Upon the Loss of this Battle, most of the Towns in the *Milanese*, with the capital City it self, open'd their Gates to the Conqueror : whereupon the Duke *Maximilian Sforza*, who had retir'd into the Castle of *Milan* with a good Garrison, capitulated, and agreed to surrender his Dutchy to the *French* King, upon Condition he shou'd allow him a Pension of sixty thousand Ducats *per Annum* ; and thus the *French* became entire Masters of the *Milanese* within less than a Month after the Battle of *Marignan*. Their Allies the *Venetians* in the mean time recover'd most of the Towns they had lost in the last War. The Pope hereupon enter'd into a Treaty with the King, by which he yielded *Parma* and *Placentia* to him : and his Majesty on the other hand promis'd to assist the Pope in the Recovery of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, and consented to abolish the *Pragmatick Sanction*, and to establish the *Concordat* in the room of it ; whereby it was agreed that the King shou'd have the Nomination of Bishops and Abbots in *France*, but

The D. of *Milan* surrenders his Dutchy to the *French*.

Treaty between the Pope and *France* concerning the Nomination of Bishops, &c.

that the Pope shou'd retain certain Profits out of the principal Ecclesiastical Benefices.

His Majesty while he continu'd at *Milan* endeavour'd to bring the *Swiss* to Temper, and was so successful as to renew the antient Alliances with eight of the Cantons. As to the rest of the Powers on that side the *Alps*, they all came and congratulated him on the Success of his Expedition, though many of them dreaded nothing more than to see the *French* establish'd in *Italy*. His Majesty having constituted the Duke of *Bourbon* Lieutenant General of the *Milanese*, return'd home, and arriv'd at *Lyons* in the beginning of *February* 1515-16. The *French* Historians relate, that he was under great Apprehensions at this time of being invaded by the King of *England*, whose prime Minister Cardinal *Woolsey* was piqu'd at his denying him the Bishoprick of *Tournay*; but the rest of the *English* Council being against a War with *France*, that Enterprize was laid aside for the present. *Woolsey* however gatified his Spleen, by inciting the Emperor to fall upon the *French* in *Italy*. This Prince recover'd several places in the *Milanese*; but when the Generals were upon the point of coming to an Engagement, the *Swiss* on both sides, of whom the greatest part of each Army was compos'd, refus'd to fight. One reason they gave was, that they had stipulated by their respective Treaties with these Powers, that they wou'd not serve against their own Countrymen: but the principal was, that they were not paid, either by the *French* or *Germans*, and therefore took the liberty of returning home; from whence came that common Saying, *No Money no Swiss*; after which the Emperor thought fit to retire into the

War between the Emperor and France.

the *Trentin*, and abandon his Conquests, while the *Swiss* plunder'd all the Country in their Return, according to Custom, and paid themselves. The *French* King about this time furnish'd the Pope with a Body of Cavalry, with which he reduc'd the Dutchy of *Urbino*, taking it from the true Proprietor Duke *Francis Mury*, and transferring it to *Lawrence de Medicis*, his Holiness's Nephew, in Pursuance of the late Treaty between the Pope and his Majesty.

The following Year produc'd a Peace between *France*, *Spain*, the Emperor and *Venetians*, whereby *Verona* was restor'd to the last. And now that Republick saw themselves in the Possession of all the places that had been taken from them by the Confederacy of *Cambray*.

1516.
Peace
between
France and
most of
the Pow-
ers of
Europe.

The King of *France* having brib'd Cardinal *Woolsey*, the prime Minister of *England*, easily found means to purchase *Tournay* afterwards of the King of *England* for six hundred thousand Crowns, and a Peace was thereupon concluded between the two Nations; to cement which, the Dauphin, who was under two Years old, was married to the Princess *Mary*, the eldest Daughter of *Henry* the Eighth, and under four Years of Age; but this Match, like most others that are made so very early, came to nothing. *Woolsey*, the *French* Historians assure us, had agreed also to deliver up *Calais* to the *French*; but the King of *Spain* having notice of it, out-bid the King of *France*, and having drawn off the Cardinal from his Interest, ever after play'd him upon *France* with great Advantage.

Tournay
restor'd
to *France*.

1518.

Charles V
chosen
Emperor.

About this time the Kings of *France* and *Spain* became Competitors for the Empire upon the Death of the Emperor *Maximilian*, which happen'd on the nineteenth of *January* 1518-19. *Charles* King of *Spain* prov'd the fortunate Man: The *German* Princes, 'tis said, were apprehensive that if they had chosen *Francis*, he wou'd have endeavour'd to reduce them to the same Condition the Vassal Princes of that Kingdom had been reduc'd, and that they shou'd lose the Sovereignty they enjoy'd in their respective Principalities. It is natural also to suppose, that *Charles*, who had resided in the Emperor his Grandfather's Court during his Minority, and was personally known to the Electors, shou'd have a better Interest among them than a foreign Prince, whom they had always look'd upon as the greatest Enemy to their Country.

1520.

This Union of the Empire and *Spain* under one Head gave the *French* King some Uneasiness. He found his Dominions almost surrounded by the Territories of his Rival, and consider'd how he might form an Alliance sufficient to oppose him: And first, he procur'd an Interview with the King of *England* near *Calais*, as the *French* relate, and represented to him the Danger they were both in of *Charles's* rendering himself Universal Monarch; and 'tis said he procur'd a Promise from the King of *England* to assist him if he shou'd be attack'd. However true this Relation may be in the main, certain it is the *French* Writers are mistaken in one Circumstance, namely, as to the Kings of *England* and *France* having had an Interview before the Emperor's Conference with the King of *England*; for the Emperor passing by Sea from *Spain*

Spain to the Low Countries, was entertain'd by Harry the Eighth at Dover, before he went to Calais to meet the French King. The Historians of both Nations however agree, that the Emperor and King Francis were very lavish of their Presents and Promises to Woolsey, whose Ambition for the Popedom they were well acquainted with : It is even said, that the French King assur'd him of fourteen Voices in the Conclave at the next Election ; but that the Emperor demonstrating to the Cardinal that he cou'd procure him a greater number, he immediately deserted the French Interest, and went over to the Imperialists. Thus the Fate of Kingdoms is frequently determin'd by designing Ministers ; Princes made to prevaricate and break their Contracts to their eternal Dishonour, and sometimes utter Ruin, only to advance the particular Views of the treacherous Adviser ; and this perhaps because the Sovereign will not give himself time to consider his own or his Peoples Interests, but takes things upon Trust without Examination. And what wonder is it in such cases if the Minister has the Adoration of the Crowd, while the Prince is contemn'd, and perhaps scarce thought of, even while he lives and bears the Royal Title ? He may be stil'd God's Vicegerent on Earth, but unless he imitates the Deity in all his imitable Perfections, his Truth, his Justice, and Concern for the Welfare of Mankind, particularly his own Subjects, the People will infallibly withdraw their Veneration and Dependance on him : Nor is it fit a Prince should enjoy the Splendour of a Crown while he refuses to bear any of the Weight of it. But to return to our History. The Emperor, 'tis said, obtain'd

France and the Emperor make their Court to Woolsey.

a Promise of the King of *England* that he wou'd not assist *France*, but offer his Mediation in case any Differences arose, and take up Arms against either of the Parties who shou'd refuse his Arbitration.

A War
between
France
and the
Emperor.

1521.

While the Emperor was absent from *Spain*, there happen'd a Rebellion in that Kingdom, which the *French* King look'd upon as a favourable Opportunity to attack his Territories on that side ; therefore he first assisted the depos'd King of *Navarre* to recover his Country, and afterwards penetrated into *Castile* : But the Regency of *Spain* having assembled their Troops, defeated the *French*, and recover'd *Navarre* again the same Campaign it was lost. Another Attempt the *French* King made against the Territories of the Empire on the side of *Luxemburg* ; not openly, but by giving *le Mark*, Lord of *Sedan*, Liberty to raise Forces in *France*, with which he attack'd the Emperor's Towns, upon Pretence of some Injustice that Prince had done him. The *French* King indeed disavow'd what the Lord of *Sedan* had done ; nor did he raise an Army to support him. However, the Emperor being satisfied his Majesty was at the bottom of it, after he had ravag'd the Territories of that Lord, and raz'd his fortified Towns to the Ground, he enter'd the Dominions of *France*, and took *Tournay* and some other places ; while the *French* on their side made themselves Masters of *Bouchain*, *Landrecy*, and some other small Towns : and thus a War was commenc'd between these two Powers, which lasted many Years, the King of *England* in vain offering his Mediation.

The War was about the same time begun in *Italy*, where the Pope, the Emperor, the Duke of *Tuscany* and other Princes, had enter'd into a Confederacy to drive the *French* out of that Country, and constitute *Francis Sforza*, the Brother of *Maximilian*, Duke of *Milan*. The *French*, who had behav'd themselves very insolently, made this no difficult matter to effect: The Inhabitants of the *Milanese* were all ready to join them. The Death of Pope *Leo X* however put some stop to the Operations of the War; but Cardinal *Adrian*, Preceptor to the Emperor, being elected in his room, all things went on to the Wish of the Confederates. (The Emperor it seems had made a Tool of *Woolsey*, and never intended to advance him to the Pontificate.) They march'd towards *Milan*, and having made themselves Masters of several places, that Capital open'd its Gates and receiv'd *Francis Sforza* for her Sovereign. Soon after the *French* being join'd the *Venetians*, and having receiv'd some other Re-inforcements, attack'd the Imperialists and *Italians*, commanded by the Pope's General *Prosper Colonna*, at *Bicoque*, a Palace and Park of the Dukes of *Milan*, about a League from that City, surrounded by a Wall and Ditch. They were not able to force the *Italian* Camp, but were repuls'd and entirely defeated; whereupon *Genoa* and the whole *Milanese* revolted from the *French*, except the Castles of *Milan*, *Novara*, *Pisighione* and *Cremona*. The *Venetians* also deserted the *French* Interest, and made an Alliance with the Emperor against all Powers that shou'd disturb the Repose of *Italy* for the future; never expecting to see the *French* in *Italy* again so soon as they were, having so much Business upon

The *Milanese* revolt from the *French*.

1523:

The Eng-
lish make
an Irrup-
tion into
Picardy.

upon their Hands on the side of the *Pyrenees* and *Picardy*; for the *English* the Year before had declar'd War against them, and in Pursuance of that Declaration landed thirteen thousand Men at *Calais*, under the Command of the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was to have been join'd by a like Number of Imperialists; but the latter not bringing more than five or six thousand Men into the Field, and throwing the whole Charge of the War on that side upon the *English*, according to Custom, no considerable Action cou'd be undertaken; whereupon the Duke contented himself with ravaging the Country till he came within ten or eleven Leagues of *Paris*, and then return'd to *England*.

The
French in-
vade the
Milaneſe.

In the mean time the Castle of *Milan* surrender'd to the Confederates, but the *French* King notwithstanding made great Preparations for the Invasion of that Dutchy, and was upon his March thither when he receiv'd Advice that the Duke of *Bourbon*, Constable of *France*, being disgusted, was treating with his Enemy the Emperor. He charg'd the Duke with it; but there being no direct Proof of the matter, he continu'd his March towards *Lyons*, where he was assur'd that the Constable was actually fled into *Germany*, and thereupon order'd the fortified Towns belonging to that Duke to be seiz'd, and his Adherents apprehended: and not thinking it proper at such a Juncture to leave the Kingdom, he committed the Care of the *Italian* Expedition to the Admiral *Bonniret*, who pass'd the *Alps* and recover'd several places in the *Milaneſe*, taking up his Winter-Quarters in that Country.

But

But the following Spring 1524, the *Swiss* deserting his Army, and the Imperialists, who were now commanded by the Duke of *Bourbon*, with the *Venetians*, *Neapolitans*, &c. having assembled their Forces, fell upon the *French*, and fairly beat them out of *Italy* again : After which the Confederates pass'd the *Alps*, and besieg'd *Marseille* ; but having lain before that Town forty Days, and made little Progress in the Siege, their Army also being pretty much lessen'd by Sickness, they rais'd the Siege and return'd into *Italy*, King *Francis* following them close at the Heels with an Army of forty thousand Men. Upon his Appearance in the *Milaneze*, the City of *Milan* it self, which always submitted to the strongest side for fear of being plunder'd, open'd her Gates to him ; and the Confederates not being in a Condition to keep the Field, the King laid Siege to *Pavia*. The place was defended by a numerous Garrison, and the Besiegers were so incommoded with the Rains and Snows, that they had not much advanc'd their Works in two Months they had lain before it. In the mean time the Imperialists having receiv'd large Re-inforcements from *Germany*, attack'd the King in his Camp on *St. Matthias's Day* 1524-5, and after a brave Resistance, entirely defeated his Army and took him Prisoner. It is computed that there were eight or nine thousand of the *French* kill'd upon the Spot, and of the *Germans* scarce so many hundred. The Loss of this Battle was follow'd by that of all the *Milaneze*.

The
French K.
defeated
and taken
Prisoner
at *Pavia*.

The King of *England* upon this Occasion shew'd himself a Prince of great Honour : He had assembled an Army to invade *France* on the side of *Picardy*, and hearing of the Distress

1525.

that the *French* were reduc'd to upon the Imprisonment of their King, he declar'd to the Regency of *France* that he wou'd not proceed in the Enterprize, or give them any Disturbance : whereas nothing is so common as to see Princes taking Advantages of the Misfortunes of their Neighbours. But one great Inducement to this Conduct no doubt was an Apprehension that the Emperor wou'd soon become too powerful for all the Princes in *Europe* if he did not change Hands : He enter'd into a defensive Alliance therefore with *France*, and engag'd to procure the Liberty of King *Francis* upon reasonable Terms.

1526.

In the mean time the Emperor had caus'd his Royal Prisoner to be brought from *Italy* to *Madrid*, where after about a Years Confinement a Treaty was made between them. The King to obtain his Liberty yielded up the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, renounc'd his Pretensions to *Naples*, *Milan* and *Genoa*, and all Sovereign Jurisdiction over the Counties of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and all other Demesns in the Possession of the Emperor, and a Marriage was at the same time concluded between the King and *Eleanor* Queen Dowager of *Portugal*, the Emperor's Sister. About a Month after the King was permitted to return to *France*, leaving his two Sons, *Francis* the Dauphin and *Henry* Duke of *Orleans*, as Hostages for the Performance of the Articles. Being requir'd to put the Emperor into the Possession of the Dutchy of *Burgundy* soon after, the States of the Kingdom represented to him, that he could not alienate the Demesns of the Crown without their Consent, and therefore that part of the Treaty was void. This occasion'd a Rupture with the Emperor, whereupon

whereupon King *Francis* enter'd into an Alliance with the *English*, the *Venetians*, the *Swiss*, the *Florentines* and the Pope, for preserving the Liberty of *Italy*, and restoring the Dutchy of *Milan* to *Francis Sforza*.

The Duke of *Bourbon*, the Imperial General, having notice of this League, march'd directly to *Rome*, partly to be reveng'd of the Pope, and partly to satisfy his Forces with the Plunder of that City, having receiv'd no Money to pay them for a considerable time. He demanded a Passage for his Forces through *Rome*, pretending he was marching towards *Naples*; and this being refus'd him, he order'd Scaling Ladders to be brought to the Walls, and as he was standing at the Foot of one of them animating his Men, he was wounded with a Musket-Ball, of which he died; whereupon the Prince of *Orange* took upon him the Command of the Imperial Army, and carried the City by Storm, committing greater Outrages there, if we may credit the *French* Writers, than ever the barbarous Nations were guilty of when they made themselves Masters of it. The Pope having retir'd into the Castle of *St. Angelo*, was besieg'd there; but the Imperial Generals finding that the *French* and the rest of the Confederates were marching to his Relief, agreed to raise the Siege, on Condition he wou'd advance them four hundred thousand Ducats, and yield up some places to the Emperor which belong'd to the Ecclesiastical State. The Confederates on the other Hand having made themselves Masters of great part of the *Milanese*, march'd afterwards into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and laid Siege to the capital City, which induc'd the Imperialists to abandon *Rome*, in order to

A Confederacy against the Emperor.

1527.

Rome taken by Storm by the Imperial Generals.

prevent another Revolution in that Kingdom.

The War
carried
into Naples

1528.

The City of *Naples* being block'd up by the *Genoese* Fleet by Sea, and invested on all sides by the Confederates by Land, was reduc'd to great Extremity for want of Provisions. The Plague also carried off great numbers of the Garrison as well as Inhabitants, but the Condition of the Besiegers was not at all better: Of six and twenty thousand Men that first invested the place, there were not six thousand left: and to compleat their Misfortune, *Andrew Doria*, Commander of the *Genoese* Fleet, went over to the Imperialists, and gave them an Opportunity of supplying the place with Forces and Provisions; whereupon the Confederates found themselves oblig'd to raise the Siege. The Prince of *Orange* pursued them to *Aversa*, and having invested the place, they were glad to accept of such Conditions as he was pleas'd to grant them. The *French* Officers and Soldiers had leave to return to *France*, leaving all their Arms, Standards and Colours behind them: The *Swiss* were allow'd to go home; and the *Italians* oblig'd themselves not to serve against the Emperor for six Months; and their General, the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, agreed to do all that was in his Power to oblige the Governors of Towns in Possession of the Allies to surrender to the Imperialists, for the Performance whereof he remain'd a Prisoner amongst them.

Peace
between
France
and the
Emperor.

The following Year a Peace was concluded between the Emperor and *France*, by the Mediation of the Queen Dowager of *France*, and *Margaret* of *Austria*, Governor of the *Netherlands*, whereby the Emperor desisted from his Pretensions on the Dutchy of *Burgundy*,

gundy, and the *French* King oblig'd himself to pay the Emperor two millions of Crowns, as a Ransom for the two Princes his Sons. He promis'd also to withdraw the Forces he had still remaining in *Italy*, and renounce all Sovereignty over *Flanders*, *Artois*, &c. The Treaty of Marriage also was confirmed between King *Francis* and the Emperor's eldest Sister the Queen of *Portugal*. The Pope had already made a separate Peace with the Emperor; and the *Venetians* obtain'd one on Condition of delivering up the Towns they were possess'd of in the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Emperor consented to grant the Investiture of the Dutchy of *Milan* to Duke *Sforza*, upon Condition he wou'd let him put a Garrison in the Castle of that Capital, and in the City of *Cosmo*. As to the Republick of *Florence*, the Emperor besieg'd and took their capital City, and oblig'd them to accept *Alexander de Medicis* for their Sovereign, whom they had driven away.

The Emperor subdues the Republick of *Florence*.

The *French* King being now in Peace with all his Neighbours, solemniz'd his Marriage with the Queen of *Portugal*. He afterwards apply'd himself to remedy such Disorders in the State, as the long War had occasion'd, and gave great Encouragement to Arts and Sciences, whereby he obtain'd the Title of *The Restorer of Learning* in *France*. And in the Year 1532 he caused the Dutchy of *Britany* to be formally united to the Crown of *France*. He propos'd also the modelling his Militia after the Pattern of the antient *Romans*, by forming them into Legions or Bodies of Men, consisting of six thousand each; *Normandy*, *Britany*, *Picardy* and *Burgundy* were each of them to furnish one to be call'd by their respective

1530.

1531.

1532.

1533.
France enters into an Alliance with the Protestant Princes of Germany.

The Smalcaldick League.

respective Names, and so the rest of the Provinces in proportion to their Extent ; and this he began to execute about the Year 1533. In the mean time the Protestant or *Lutheran* Princes of *Germany*, finding themselves in danger of being crush'd by the Emperor, who had publish'd a Decree that no other Religion shou'd be tolerated in the Empire but the Catholick, apply'd themselves to the *French* King for his Protection, and he accordingly enter'd into a defensive Alliance with them, not with an Intent to support the Protestant Religion, for he was a zealous Catholick, and had executed several for Heresy in his own Kingdom, but in order to break the Emperor's Power, and render him less terrible to himself and the rest of the Powers of *Europe*, who were apprehensive that *Charles* the Fifth aim'd at nothing less than Universal Monarchy. This Confederacy of the Protestant Princes being enter'd into at the Town of *Smalcald* in *Germany*, obtain'd the Name of the *Smalcaldick League*. The Emperor finding so formidable an Alliance of the *German* Princes form'd against him supported by the King of *France*, and the *Turks* threatening to fall upon him at the same time with an Army of three hundred thousand Men, begun to use the Protestants more mildly than he had done, and notwithstanding the Decree he had publish'd at the Conclusion of the Diet of *Augsburg*, prohibiting the Exercise of any other Religion than the Catholick, he granted the Protestants Liberty of Conscience till a general Council shou'd be assembled to settle the Points in Dispute, and these temporary Indulgencies obtain'd the Name of *Interims*,
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as all things were to remain in the same State they were in the mean time.

The King of *England*, *Henry VIII*, having been disgusted also on account of the Opposition the Emperor made to his Separation from *Queen Katherine*, who was the Emperor's Aunt, had engaged to support the Protestant Princes of *Germany*; and that Prince being afterwards excommunicated by the Pope on his Marriage with *Anne Bullen*, threw off the Pope's Supremacy, and stil'd himself Head of the Church of *England*. The *French King*, their Writers inform us, did all that lay in his Power to prevent Matters being brought to this Extremity, by applying himself first to King *Henry*, and then to the Pope: But things were carried with that Violence in both Courts, that his Mediation was to no purpose, tho' there was at this time a very great Intimacy between the *French King* and the Pope, on account of his Holiness's Niece *Katherine de Medicis* marrying the King's Second Son *Henry Duke of Orleans*, to solemnize which, the Pope made a Journey into *France* on purpose: One of the Articles of this Marriage was, that the Pope shou'd assist the *French King* in making his Son the Duke of *Orleans Duke of Milan*; but the Pope dying the next Year, *Anno 1534*, this Part of the Treaty was never executed.

The K. of *England* throws off the Pope's Supremacy.

1534.

In the Year 1535 the War broke out again between *France* and the Emperor. *Francis Sforza Duke of Milan* happening to die about this time, the *French King* resumed his Claim to the *Milanese*, alledging, that on the Death of *Sforza* without Issue, it reverted to him: But being conscious that the Emperor wou'd oppose his Pretensions, he waited till he found

War in *Italy* between *France* and the Emperor. 1535.

1536.

found that Prince engaged in an Expedition to *Africa* against the Infidels; and that he might be able to make good his Retreat in case of a Misfortune, he found some Pretence of falling out with the Duke of *Savoy*, and seiz'd upon his Capital City of *Turin*, and most of his other Towns, quartering his Army in that Country. But the Emperor being return'd from his Expedition to *Tunis*, march'd with an Army into *Piedmont*, and oblig'd the *French* to quit all the Duke of *Savoy's* Towns, except *Turin*. He afterwards pass'd the *Alps*, and enter'd *Provence* where he found all the Country wasted by the *French*, that they might meet with no Subsistence for their Troops; the Emperor however possess'd himself of *Aix*, and afterwards laid Siege to *Marseille*, but his Army was so weakned by Sickness and Famine, that he was oblig'd to return on a sudden into *Italy*. The *French* relate, that of fifty thousand Men with which he invaded *Provence*, he had scarce five and twenty thousand left when he came to *Genoa*. The Imperialists met with no better Success on the side of *Picardy*, where they laid Siege to *Peronne*, but were forc'd to raise it by the brave Defence the Garrison made. In the mean time the *French* follows the Imperialists into *Italy*, where there were perpetual Skirmishes between them during the Winter. *James* the Fifth of *Scotland*, it seems, was so zealous in serving the *French* King in this War, that of his own accord he rais'd an Army of sixteen thousand Men, and transported them to *Provence*, which gave the *French* that Superiority over the Emperor, as to oblige him to return to *Italy*. In gratitude to the King of *Scots* therefore, he gave him his

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his Daughter *Magdalen* in Marriage, which created a Misunderstanding between the Kings of *England* and *France*, the *Scots* being the constant and avow'd Enemies of the *English* Nation.

The *French* King at his return to *Paris*, had the Vanity to summon the Emperor as his Vassal before the Court of Peers, to do Homage for *Artois* and *Flanders*, pretending that the Cessions he had made of all Homage and Service from the Emperor at the Treaty of *Cambray*, were void, by that Prince's having invaded *France* on the side of *Provence*; and upon the Emperor's not appearing, that Court declar'd him guilty of Rebellion and Treason against his Sovereign Lord the King of *France*, and depriv'd him judicially of the Provinces of *Flanders*, *Artois* and *Charolois*, which the Emperor and the rest of the Princes of *Europe* laugh'd at very heartily.

The French King summons the Emperor before him as his Vassal.

The *French* also to shew their Resentment against the Emperor, enter'd into an Alliance with the *Grand Signior*, whereby it was agreed that the *Turks* shou'd invade the Kingdom of *Naples*, while the King of *France* attack'd the *Milanese*; and accordingly *Barbarussa* the *Turkish* Admiral made a Descent near *Otranto*, burnt and plunder'd the Country of *Apulia*, and carried off Captives without number. But the *French* did not perform their Part of the Treaty; the Imperialists found them so much Business on the side of the *Netherlands*, that it was as much as they cou'd do to maintain themselves in *Piedmont*; they were not able to penetrate into the *Milanese*, and a Truce was concluded between *France* and the Emperor the following Winter, by the

He enters into an Alliance with the Turk.

1537.

Mediation of the Pope, who gave both Parties a Meeting at the City of *Nice*, in order to settle the Articles.

1539.
The
Emperor
comes to
Paris.

During the Continuance of this Truce, there being an Insurrection in the *Netherlands*, the Emperor desir'd leave to come through *France* to *Flanders*, for he was at that time in *Spain*; which the *French* King consented to, and receiv'd him suitable to his Dignity on his arrival at *Paris*: There seem'd to be a perfect Reconciliation between the two Princes, and the Emperor promis'd to grant the Investiture of the *Milanese* to one of the Sons of *France*, if we may credit their Historians, tho' the Emperor when he was put in mind of it on his arrival in *Flanders*, declar'd he never made any such Promise. This, and the murdering one of the *French* Envoys in the *Milanese*, who was going to the *Ottoman* Port, occasion'd a Misunderstanding between these two Powers again, tho' the *French* did not think fit to break the Truce till they found the Emperor engaged in another Expedition to *Africa*, in which he lost a very great Fleet and Army, and was oblig'd to return to *Spain* without effecting any thing.

1541.

1542.
War be-
tween
the *French*
and the
Emperor.

The following Year, 1542, the *French* King declar'd War against the Emperor, on account of the Murder of his Envoy, and for some other Reasons, and having rais'd two great Armies, sent one to the Confines of *Spain*, and the other to the *Low Countries*: The latter penetrated *Luxemburg*, and reduc'd several considerable Towns; but the other Army having besieg'd *Perpignan* three Months, was forc'd to rise from before it, and return home, after they had lost a great many Men.

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The next Campaign the *French*, as usual, took some Places on the side of *Flanders* and *Luxemburg* before the Emperor's Forces came into the Field, but lost most of them again before the End of the Summer; and the Emperor at the same time fell upon their Allie the Duke of *Cleve* and the rest of the *German* Princes who were in a Confederacy against him, and forc'd them to submit to very hard Conditions. The King of *England* also enter'd into an Alliance with the Emperor, being provok'd to it by the *French* King's sending over Forces to *Scotland*, and opposing him in the Match he had propos'd between his Son *Edward* and the young Queen of *Scots*, whereby *Harry* the Eighth hoped to have united the two Kingdoms. In pursuance of this Treaty ten thousand *English* were soon after sent over to the assistance of the Emperor in the *Netherlands*.

The
English
declare
against
France.

1543.

The *French* King finding himself hard press'd on all sides, united his Forces with the *Turks*, and laid Siege to *Nice*, while *Barbarussa* the *Turkish* Admiral block'd it up by Sea: He did not succeed in this Enterprize however, being forc'd to raise the Siege of the Castle, after he had made himself Master of the Town; and this Confederacy with the *Turks* rendred the *French* extremely odious to all the Princes in *Europe*; tho' now 'tis become a common Practice when any Power is at War with the Emperor, to bring the *Grand Signior* upon his Back by way of Diversion.

The *French* were very successful in *Piedmont* in the Year 1544, where they gave the Forces of the Emperor and the Duke of *Savoy* a very signal Defeat, but cou'd not make any great Advantage of their Victory,

1544.

The *English* and
Imperialists
invade
France.

Bologn
taken by
the *English*

being forc'd to withdraw Part of their Army to the Frontiers of *Picardy*, where the Imperialists and *English* were drawing together an Army of fourscore thousand Men, giving out that they intended to march directly to *Paris*. The Imperialists however, not being ready to take the Field so soon as the *English*, King *Harry* laid Siege to the Cities of *Bologn* and *Monstreuil*, and the Emperor retook *Luxemburg* and some other Towns which the *French* had possess'd themselves of in that Dutchy. These Sieges took up so much of their Time, that their grand Design of carrying the War into the Heart of *France* became impracticable. The King of *England* took *Bologn*, after a Siege of three Months; but cou'd not make himself Master of *Monstreuil*, and the Winter approaching, he left a Garrison in *Bologn*, and return'd to *England*. A Treaty was soon after set on foot between the Emperor and *France*, whereby it was agreed, that the *French* King's second Son the Duke of *Orleans*, shou'd marry either *Mary* of *Austria* the Emperor's eldest Daughter, or the second Daughter of the King of the *Romans*; and that upon his Marriage, he shou'd be invested either in the *Milanes*e, or the *Netherlands*, with the Counties of *Burgundy* and *Charolois*, at the Election of the Emperor: But the Duke of *Orleans* dying a few Months afterwards, this part of the Treaty was never executed.

The following Year, 1545, was most remarkable for a terrible Execution committed in *France* on account of Religion; the zealous King *Francis* had before burnt several of his Subjects for adhering to the Doctrines of the Reformed; but in pursuance of a Decree made five Years before by the President

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President of *Provence*, he was still guilty of greater Cruelties, ordering a Detachment of his Army, to burn the City of *Cabrierers* down to the Ground, together with the large Town of *Merindol*, and several other Towns and Villages; to burn the Master of every Family at the Stake, and plunder all their Goods, leaving their Wives and Children to starve. In which Execution the Soldiers committed the most unheard of Barbarities, on Pretence that the Inhabitants were infected with what the Pope was pleas'd to call Heresy. So early were the *French* Princes remarkable for their inhuman persecuting Spirit.

1545.
Several
Towns
destroy'd
with the
Inhabi-
tants on
account of
Religion.

The *French* King after he had made Peace with the Emperor, bent all his Forces against *England*, being determin'd to recover *Bologn* and *Calais* from them, and drive them from the Continent. But as this was impracticable till he cou'd make himself Master at Sea, he first fitted out a Fleet of two or three hundred Sail, which stood over to the Coast of *England*, where they met with the royal Navy of that Kingdom. The Commanders on both sides were so prudent, that after firing upon one another at a distance for some time, they thought fit to part without coming to a close Engagement. The *French* afterwards plunder'd some Villages in the *Isle of Wight*, and the *English* return'd their Visit and ravag'd *Normandy*. There were several Skirmishes also between the Armies at Land in the Neighbourhood of *Calais* and *Bologn*, but nothing decisive happen'd either this or the following Year: and the Council of *Trent* being assembled about this time, where the King of *England* was apprehensive something might be decreed against him to his Prejudice, began to listen

1546.

The
Kings of
England
and *France*
make
Peace and
die soon
after.

1547.

Henry II.

The Em-
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over the
Protes-
tant
Princes.

listen to the Offers of Peace that were made him by *France*, and a Treaty was set on foot accordingly; wherein it was agreed, that upon the *French* King's paying eight hundred thousand Crowns to the King of *England*, or so much as the War and the Fortifications of *Bologn* had cost him, within the space of eight Years, that City shou'd be resign'd up to *France*. And thus a Peace was again establish'd between these two Princes a very little before their Deaths, King *Harry* dying in *January* following, and the *French* King on the last Day of *March*, 1547, being succeeded by his Son *Henry*.

Henry II, Son of *Francis* the First, ascended the Throne on the thirty-first of *March*, 1547, being that Day nine and twenty Years of Age. He discharg'd most of the Officers of State at his Accession, and brought the famous Constable *Montmorency*, (who had been in Disgrace, and banish'd from Court in the late Reign,) and *Francis* Duke of *Aumale*, afterwards Duke of *Guise*, into the Administration.

He expected every Day to have his Dominions invaded by the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, who was now grown very formidable, having entirely defeated the Protestant Princes of *Germany* that form'd the *Smalcaldick League* at the Battle of *Mulberg*, and taken two of their Chiefs Prisoners, namely, *Frederick* Elector of *Saxony*, and *Philip* Landgrave of *Hesse*, with whom the *French* were in Confederacy: But the Emperor being engaged in settling his Affairs in *Germany*, the King found himself at leisure to defeat the Designs of the *English*, who were about to marry their young King *Edward* the Sixth to the Infant Queen of *Scotland*, *Mary Stuart*, by forming a Party among

among the *Scots*, and sending over Troops to their Assistance, he procur'd the Negociation with *England* to be broke off, and the young Queen brought over to *France*, in order to be married to the Dauphin; whereby he again prevented a Union between the two Kingdoms.

The next thing he undertook was to discourage all Innovations in Religion: Accordingly he reviv'd his Father's severe Edicts against the Reformers; for tho' he assisted the Protestant Princes in *Germany* against the Emperor, it was not out of any Opinion he had of their Principles, but purely upon a political account.

In the Year 1548 he visited all his frontier Towns, especially on the side of *Flanders* and *Germany*, and put them in a posture of Defence. In the mean time an Insurrection happen'd in *Guienne*, on account of the excessive Duties on Salt: Several of the King's Officers were kill'd, and among the rest the Governor of the Castle of *Bordeaux*: but some Troops being sent against them, they were soon reduc'd, and severe Examples made of the Ringleaders.

1548.

The *English* Court being in great Distraction, the King look'd upon this as a favourable Opportunity to attempt the Recovery of the *Bolognois*; but he first transported a Body of Troops to *Scotland*, to join his Party there, and make a Diversion, and then attack'd the Forts about *Bologn*, which he easily carried, the *English* having no Army in the Field. However, when he came before the Town it self, he found it to be so strong that he contented himself with blocking it up. But the Dissentions encreasing in the *English* Court, which

1549.

1550.
Bologn
yielded
to France.

which made it impracticable to send any Relief to *Bologn*, the *Engliff* Ministry enter'd into a Treaty with the *French*, and agreed to deliver up the place on the Payment of four hundred thousand Crowns of the value of a Noble each ; and a Peace was concluded thereupon between the two Nations, in which *Scotland* was included.

The following Year Hostilities were renew'd in *Italy* between the *French* and Imperialists, on account of the Dutchies of *Parma* and *Placentia*, the Right to which was contested by the Emperor with the Family of *Farnese*, who apprehending they shou'd be overpower'd, call'd in the *French* to their Assistance.

1551.

An Alli-
ance be-
tween
France and
the Pro-
testant
Princes of
Germany.

The War being thus begun between *France* and the Empire, the *German* Princes, who were disgusted by the Emperor's haughty Behaviour since his Victory at *Mulberg*, and his establishing the Catholick Religion in several Protestant Towns, propos'd to enter into an Alliance again with the *French* King: Even *Maurice*, whom the Emperor had made Elector of *Saxony* in the room of *John-Frederick* that was taken Prisoner at *Mulberg*, and *Joachim* Elector of *Brandenburg*, who had till now been in the Emperor's Interest, were among the number. The King by this Treaty engag'd to maintain the Liberties of *Germany* ; to raise two great Armies, and make himself Master of the Imperial Towns of *Cambray*, *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun* ; and to furnish the *German* Princes with very great Sums towards the Charges of the War. By the same Treaty *Maurice* Elector of *Saxony* was declar'd Head of the League of the *German* Princes, and General of the Army to be form'd of their

1552.

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Troops, who publish'd a Manifesto declaring the Motives of their entring into this War, viz. The Security of the Protestant Religion, the Defence of the Liberties of *Germany*, and the Deliverance of *Philip Landgrave of Hesse* his Father-in-Law.

The *French King* was very ready to execute that part of the Agreement which oblig'd him to attack *Metz, Toul* and *Verdun*, and accordingly march'd an Army immediately into *Lorrain*, and made himself Master of those Towns, and indeed of the whole Country of *Lorrain*. In the mean time the Elector of *Saxony* and the Marquiss of *Brandenburg* having assembled their Troops, were very near surprizing the Emperor at *Inspruck*; but he fled from thence with the utmost Precipitation when he heard of their Approach, not being in a Condition to oppose them. They advanc'd however and plunder'd the Town, together with the Emperor's Baggage, and put the Council of *Trent* in such a Fright, that the Cardinals and Ecclesiasticks who compos'd it thought fit to break up their Session, and were adjourn'd to another place.

The Invasion of the *French* and the Progress of the Confederate Princes had such an Effect also on the Emperor, that he consented to a Treaty with them at *Passau*, wherein it was stipulated, that he shou'd release the Prince of *Hesse*; assemble a Diet of the Empire within six Months, and redress their Grievances: that in the mean time Liberty of Conscience shou'd be allow'd, and that those of the *Ausburg* Confession shou'd sit in the Imperial Chamber, from whence they had been excluded.

The
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possess
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and *Verdun*

The
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of *Passau*

The Em-
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France.

The Emperor was now at leisure to take his Revenge of the *French*, and accordingly order'd his Armies to ravage their Country on all sides, while with the greatest part of his Forces he invested *Metz*; but as he did not open the Trenches before that place till *November*, and it prov'd a very severe Winter, he lost a fine Army by the Rigour of the Season, and was forc'd to raise the Siege at last. He met with the like ill Success in *Italy*, and in every place where the War was carried on between him and *France* this Year, which he look'd upon as the most unfortunate of his Life, and occasion'd his saying, that *Fortune was a Friend to young People*, meaning chiefly the *French King*, who was successful against him every where.

1553.

The following Year the Emperor took *Terouen* and *Hedin* in the *Low Countries*, and raz'd them to the Ground. On the other hand, the *French Fleet* in Conjunction with that of the *Turks* ravag'd the Coast of *Calabria*, and made a Descent on the Island of *Corfica*, maintaining themselves in the Southern part of it for several Years; and in other places the War was carried on with various Success. In the mean time *Edward* the Sixth, King of *England*, being taken dangerously ill, the *French King* sent an Embassy thither with a Compliment: But the real Design of it was to prevent the Princess *Mary's* ascending the Throne, because the Emperor had propos'd a Marriage between her and his Son *Philip*, which would probably bring *England* into an Alliance against him. The *French Writers* therefore suggest, that it was their King who Influenc'd *Edward* the Sixth to exclude her, and settle the Crown upon *Jane Grey*. But whatever share

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share that Prince might have in it, we are very well satisfied that Religion and private Interest were the principal Inducements to the *English* Ministry for setting the Princess *Mary* aside. And notwithstanding this Settlement, we find she succeeded against her Rival *Jane Grey*, and married King *Philip* afterwards, which brought *England* to be a Party in the War against *France*.

An obstinate Battle was fought the next Year between the Imperialists and the *French* near *Renti* in the *Netherlands*, where both sides claim'd the Victory; but it seems to have been a drawn Battle. A more decisive Action happen'd near *Marciano* in *Tuscany*, where the *French* were routed, and beaten out of several places they possess'd in that *Dutchy*, by the Imperialists.

1554.
The
Battle
of *Renti*.

1555.

What rendred the succeeding Year most remarkable was, *Charles* the Fifth's Resignation of the Empire and all his other Dominions, and retiring to a Cloyster: He surrendered *Spain*, *Naples*, *Milan*, the *Low Countries* and *Burgundy* to his Son *Philip* at *Brussels*; and the Empire to his Brother *Ferdinand* King of the *Romans*. After which he sail'd to *Biscay* in *Spain*, from whence he went to the Monastery of *Just*, where he liv'd two Years, employing himself in Works of Piety and Devotion. About the same time a Truce was concluded between the *French* and Imperialists, by which it was agreed each Party shou'd keep what they were in Possession of.

Charles V
resigns
the Em-
pire, &c.
and re-
tires into
a Monas-
tery.

1556.

This Truce was broken the Year following on the Pope's account; he was a mortal Enemy to the House of *Austria*, and under Pretence of some Insults he had receiv'd from the Viceroy of *Naples*, he invited the *French*

The
French
send an
Army in-
to Italy
again.

1557.

The
French
defeated
at St.
Quentin's.

to come into *Italy* to his Assistance, giving them Hopes, that both *Milan* and *Naples* wou'd now become an easy Conquest. The *French* immediately sent two of their Generals with a good Body of Troops to *Rome*, to defend his Holiness, who were follow'd by the Duke of *Guise*, and an Army of between twenty and thirty thousand Men the next Spring. The *French* recover'd some of the Pope's Towns that had been taken by the *Spaniards*, and offer'd the Duke of *Alva* the *Spanish* General Battle, but he finding the Country as fatal to the *French* as it had been in former Enterprizes, and that their Army wou'd soon be destroy'd by Sickness, declin'd fighting till the *French* were reduc'd to such a Condition, as to think of nothing else but of making good their Retreat over the *Alps* again.

In the mean time the *French* Army in the *Low Countries* was routed near St. *Quentin*, which Event alone wou'd have oblig'd their Countrymen to have abandon'd *Italy*, if no other Misfortune had happen'd to them. The Pope upon the *French* General's deserting him, was oblig'd to beg a Peace of the *Spaniards*, which was granted him upon much better Terms than he cou'd have expected, considering the Provocations he had given them. But to be a little more particular as to the War in the *Low Countries*. The *French* tell us, that when they made that great Detachment to *Italy*, they did not imagine the Enemy wou'd have been so numerous in *Flanders*; they were surpriz'd at the Queen of *England's* declaring War against them at this time, presuming, that as King *Philip* was neither belov'd nor esteem'd by the
English,

English, they wou'd have left him to end his Quarrels with *France* by himself: But on the contrary, about the end of *July* they saw the *Spanish* Army commanded by *Emanuel Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, amounting to upwards of fifty thousand Men, join'd by twelve thousand *English*, sit down before *St. Quintin*, which being a Place of Importance, they endeavour'd to throw a Supply of Forces and Provisions into the Town, and, contrary to their Intentions, this brought on a general Battle, in which they were totally routed, their General the Constable *Montmerency* and a great number of their Nobility taken Prisoners. Upon this Misfortune the Duke of *Guise* was immediately sent for out of *Italy*, and declar'd Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom. This Gentleman to raise the Spirits of the People, and establish his own Reputation, took the Field in the Depth of Winter, and disguising his Intention by several Marches and Countermarches, sat down before *Calais*, which having but a small Garrison, and very ill provided with Necessaries, (the *English* not expecting a Visit so soon after the Loss the *French* had sustain'd at *St. Quintin*) the Garrison was oblig'd to capitulate in eight Days, and had no better Terms allow'd them than of being transported to *England*, except the Governor and fifty more, who were to remain Prisoners of War. Thus was this Place lost which was once deem'd impregnable, after the *English* had been in possession of it two hundred Years and upwards. It is impossible, say the *French* Historians, to express the Joy which this glorious Conquest caus'd throughout the Kingdom, and the Surprise all the Courts of *Europe* were in to see

1558.
Calais taken by the
French.

see it effected at a Time when *France* was thought to be at its last Gasps. The King look'd upon it to be so considerable, that he soon after made a kind of triumphant Entry into *Calais*; and as this Place rendred the *English* Masters of both the Sides the Channel, the Loss of it was extremely regretted by that Nation.

The
Factions
of *Guise*
and *Mont-*
merency.

While the *French* were engaged in the Enterprize against *Calais*, *Guifnes* and *Hammes*, and the other little Forts about it, the *Scots* their faithful Allies, made an Incurfion into *England*, in order to give a Diversion on that fide; and the *April* following *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland* was married to *Francis* the Dauphin, which prov'd a considerable Advantage to the House of *Guife*, ſhe being a Niece of that Duke. It was about this time that that fatal Emulation began between the Families of *Montmerenci* and *Guife*, which occaſion'd infinite Deſtractions in the Kingdom. The Change of Religion alſo contributed to theſe intefline Diviſions: The Duke of *Guife* was eſteem'd the Head of the Papifts, and the Conſtable and the Admiral *Coligni* the Support of the Proteſtants; but both the Conſtable and the Admiral having been made Priſoners at the Battle of *St. Quintin*, the *Guiſes* had now the Adminiſtration almoſt entirely in their Hands: They took this Opportunity of charging *Monſieur Dandelot* the Admiral's Brother, who was General of the Infantry, with ſpeaking irreverently of the Maſs, and procur'd an Order from the King to commit him to Priſon. About this time the *French* laid Siege to *Thionville* in *Luxembourg*, and took it; while *Marſhal de Tormes* Governor of *Calais*, with another

another Part of the Army, surpriz'd *Dunkirk*, but he was attack'd by Count *Egmont* Governor of *Flanders* in his Retreat near the Mouth of the River *Aa*, on the 3d of *July*, and routed, Marshal *de Tormes* himself being made Prisoner. The *French* ascribe the Loss of this Battle to a Squadron of *English* Ships which lay at that time in the Mouth of the River, and canonaded the *French* while they were engaged with the *Spaniards*.

This ill Success of the *French* induc'd them to think of Peace, tho' their Writers impute it to another Motive; they relate, that the Duke of *Guise* and the Cardinal of *Lorraine* his Brother, looking upon their Interest at Court to be so well establish'd as to need no Support, treated the King's Mistress the Dutchess of *Valentinois* with great Insolence, whereupon she prevail'd upon his Majesty to send Orders to the Constable *Montmerency*, who was then a Prisoner in *Flanders*, to make Proposals of Peace to the *Spaniard*, to the End that the Constable might return home, and assist her against the Power of the *Guises*: She apply'd her self also to the Duke of *Savoy*, who was General of the Armies of *Spain*, to influence that Court to enter into a Treaty, assuring him, that his Dominions in *Savoy* and *Piedmont* shou'd be restor'd him if he cou'd effect it. But I find there was little Occasion for all this Artifice to bring about a Peace, for King *Philip* having just buried his Father the Emperor, and his Wife the Queen of *England*, and being about to return to *Spain*, was very desirous to leave his Dominions in the *Low Countries* and *Italy* in Peace, and the *French* Court, as has been intimated, having the Worst in the War, cou'd not be averse to

A Peace
between
France,
Spain and
England.
1559.

pacifick Measures : But however the Matter was brought about, *Chateau Cambresis* was agreed on for the Place of Treaty the following Year, where Queen *Elizabeth* of England was to have her Plenepotentiaries, as well as *France* and *Spain* ; notwithstanding the *French* had encourag'd *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, the Wife of the Dauphin, to take upon her the Title and Arms of the Queen of England : To retaliate which Affront, and to strengthen her Interest, Queen *Elizabeth* enter'd into an Alliance with the Protestant Lords in *Scotland*, and had thereby a greater Influence on the Affairs of that Nation during her Reign, than their own Queen. But to return to the Treaty. It was at length agreed, that the *French* shou'd remain in Possession of *Calais* for eight Years, at the End of which Term, they shou'd either restore it, or pay five hundred thousand Crowns to *England* : That the Places taken either by the *French* or *Spaniards* shou'd be reciprocally restor'd, only the *French* were to remain in Possession of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun* : The Duke of *Savoy* was to be put into the Possession of his Country, except *Turin*, *Pignerol*, *Quiers*, *Chivros* and *Villeneuve*, which the *French* King was to retain till some Pretensions he had to the Dominions of *Savoy*, in the Right of *Louisa* of *Savoy* Mother of *Francis* the First, were examin'd, and in the mean time the King of *Spain* was to keep Garrisons in *Verceil* and *Asti*.

This Peace occasion'd some Murmurings against the Constable, because the *French* had taken a great many more Towns during the War, than the *Spaniards* had taken from them ; it was even computed, that the *French* hereby surrendred up no less than two hundred Towns

Towns and Fortresses: To which the Constable and his Friends reply'd, that these two hundred Fortresses were most of them little Castles belonging to the Lords of Towns and Villages, which had been seiz'd in order to protect the Country against the Enemy's Parties during the War; and that *Calais* and the Towns of *Picardy* which were restor'd to *France*, were an ample Equivalent for them, especially if it were consider'd that *France* was to remain in Possession of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, with their Dependancies, which were a noble Augmentation to the Kingdom, and cover'd it on the side of *Champain*, much the Weakest Frontier they had: That the Kingdom also receiv'd an inconceivable Advantage by removing the *English* to the other side the Water, who had been a Thorn in their Sides for several hundred Years past. For whatever they had stipulated concerning the restoring of *Calais* at eight Years End, it is evident they never intended it: Nor were the *English* Ministry so weak to expect they should, but the Queen had so many Difficulties to struggle with at her Accession on account of Religion, that they were in no Condition to continue the War, and only got that Clause inserted to satisfy the Populace, who were as zealous at that time for the recovery of *Calais*, as we are at present for retaining *Gibraltar* and the Island of *Minorca*.

There were two Marriages solemniz'd at the *French* Court afterwards, which were intended to cement this Peace, viz. one between the King of *Spain* and the Princess *Elizabeth*, the *French* King's Daughter; and the other between the Duke of *Savoy* and the

The K. of
France kil-
led at a
Tourna-
ment.

Princess *Margaret*, the King's Sister. Among other Shews and Diversions on this Occasion the King order'd a Tournament to last three Days : The King was the first Challenger, and with the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Nemours* and the Prince of *Ferrara*, engag'd all that came the first Day with abundance of Applause. He was equally successful the second, being the thirtieth of *June*, till about the Close of the Evening, when they were about to give over, he propos'd to break another Launce with the Earl of *Montgomery*, Captain of the *Scots* Guards. The Queen, as if she had some Foresight of the Misfortune that was to happen to him, begg'd of him herself, and employ'd her Friends to dissuade him from tilting any more : but he cou'd not be prevail'd upon ; he enter'd the Lists with the Count, they ran with all their Force against each other, broke their Launces, and a Splinter of the Earl's pierc'd the King's Eye through the Visor of his Helmet : The Blood gush'd from the Wound in such Quantities, that no body doubted its being mortal, and in a few Days his Majesty's Life was declar'd to be in Danger. However, he order'd that the Duke of *Savoy's* Wedding with his Sister shou'd be solemniz'd in his Chamber the ninth of *July*, and died the next Day, being eleven Days after he receiv'd the Wound, in the forty-first Year of his Age, and the thirteenth of his Reign, leaving four Sons behind him, namely, *Francis* II, who immediately succeed-ed him, *Charles*, *Henry* and *Francis* : and three Daughters, viz. *Elizabeth*, Queen of *Spain* ; *Claude*, Dutches of *Lorraine* ; and *Margaret*.

Francis

Francis the Second was in the seventeenth Year of his Age at his Father's Death : A Prince, says my Author, weak both in Body and Mind, and by no means qualified to bear the Weight of the Government in his own Person. There were three Factions therefore that endeavour'd to get the Administration of Affairs into their Hands, namely, the House of *Guise*, that of the Constable *Montmerency*, and that of the Princes of the Blood. But the Queen Mother *Catherine de Medicis* adhering to the *Guises*, that Party carried all before them. Whereupon the Constable was oblig'd to retire from Court, and live privately : *Anthony de Bourbon* King of *Navarre*, first Prince of the Blood, and the Prince of *Conde* his Brother, were likewise in a manner banish'd : The Admiral *Coligni*, and *Dandelot*, Relations to the Constable, also were frown'd upon. These Gentlemen therefore, and many other Persons of Distinction, soon began to form a Conspiracy against the Court : and observing that the Reform'd Religion began to spread all over the Kingdom, and that those who profess'd it had been cruelly persecuted in the late Reign, chiefly by the Incitement of the *Guises*, and were on that account sufficiently enrag'd against them, they propos'd to unite their Interest with the Protestants, which wou'd in all Probability render their Party very numerous and formidable, and they had all the reason in the World to believe they shou'd be supported by the Queen of *England* and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*. The Prince of *Conde*, it was agreed, shou'd have the Direction of the Enterprize ; but he was not to appear and avow it publicly till things were brought to a certain point. In pursuance of

Francis II,
1559.

Factions
in the
French
Court.

A Confe-
deracy
against
the Court.

these Resolutions, Soldiers were listed, and Parties form'd in every Town and Province of the Kingdom. It was agreed they shou'd all set out at a certain time, and march towards *Blois*, where the King was, in order to make themselves Masters of the Court. As soon as the Soldiers of the several Provinces were within reach of joining, a numerous Company without Arms was to go to *Blois*, to present a Petition to the King for Liberty of Conscience; and as they expected the Petition wou'd be rejected, the Soldiers were to appear in Arms before the Town, and oblige the King to declare the Prince of *Conde* Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom.

The
Malecon-
tents de-
feated at
Amboise.

The *Guises* having Intelligence of the Conspiracy that was forming against them, carried the King to the Castle of *Amboise*, and assembled a good Body of Troops to oppose the Designs of the Malecontents, who did not give over the Enterprize, notwithstanding they had all the reason in the World to believe they were discover'd. They march'd boldly towards *Amboise*, and were advanc'd pretty near it, when they fell into the Ambuscades the Duke of *Guise* had laid for them, and were most of them kill'd or taken Prisoners; many of the latter were immediately hang'd up on the Ramparts of the Castle, and others thrown into the *Loire* and drowned; after which a Pardon was publish'd for all that wou'd lay down their Arms. Neither the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the Constable, or the *Coligni's*, appear'd in this Insurrection; tho' the Court was satisfied that some or all of them were at the bottom of it. However, it was thought advisable not to search too far into the matter; and the Prince of *Conde*, who

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was at this time in the Castle with the King, was permitted to retire and go to his Brother the King of Navarre.

As the Queen of Scotland was married to the French King, the Court of France look'd upon themselves to be equally concern'd in defending that Kingdom against the English as their own, and therefore sent over four thousand Men to support the Party that adher'd to the Queen against the English; while the Queen of England on the other hand sent Re-inforcements to the Protestant Lords there, who appear'd to be the prevailing Faction. This induc'd the French to enter into a Treaty with Queen Elizabeth in relation to Scotland, wherein it was agreed, That the Protestants shou'd have Liberty of Conscience in that Kingdom: That the Queen of France and Scotland shou'd not bear the Arms of England: and that the French and English shou'd each of them recall their Troops from thence.

Treaty
between
France and
England
in rela-
tion to
Scotland.

In the mean time an Assembly of Lords, Prelates and Lawyers, was call'd by the French Court to advise upon the present state of Affairs, chiefly in relation to Religion; but neither the King of Navarre, or the Prince of Conde, thought fit to appear in it, being apprehensive the Court might confine them.

The Admiral Coligni here presented a Petition to the King in behalf of the Reformed, telling his Majesty, that though it was not signed by any, there were fifty thousand in the Province of Normandy only who were ready to sign it: and the King demanding the Opinion of the Assembly upon it, the Cardinal of Lorraine said, that the Petition was Seditious, Foolish, Scandalous, Heretical and Impudent; and if there were fifty thousand

Coligni's
Petition
to the K.
in behalf
of the Pro-
testants.

Factionous

Faction People who would sign it, he would answer for a million of Substantial Persons in the Kingdom who were ready to oppose their Insolence. There were other very warm Speeches made on the Subject, and it was concluded at length to convene the States of the Kingdom to deliberate on these Matters.

The K. of
Navarre
and the P.
of Conde
seiz'd by
the Court.

This Council or Assembly was no sooner broke up but the Malecontents enter'd into another Conspiracy against the Government, or rather against the Faction of the *Guises*: *Lyons* and several other Cities were to have been surpriz'd; but their Designs were discover'd and defeated. In the mean time the States of the Kingdom were summon'd to meet at *Orleans*; where the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* venturing to attend, were both seiz'd by the King's Order, and the Prince was tried and convicted of High Treason by a special Commission, though he insisted that as a Prince of the Blood he cou'd only be tried in Parliament by his Peers. He had infallibly been executed, and probably the King of *Navarre* wou'd have undergone the same Fate, if the King of *France* had not in this very Instant been taken dangerously ill; and as it was the *Guises* press'd the Queen to hasten the Execution: but her Majesty having an Eye upon the Regency in the future Reign, and apprehending the readiest way to obtain it wou'd be to make these two Princes her Friends, she caus'd the Execution to be suspended, and afterwards procur'd both of them their Liberty, which was such an infinite Obligation, that they cou'd not oppose her taking the Regency upon her at the King's Death, that happen'd on the fifth

of

of December 1560, after a Reign of a Year and half, which may with more Propriety be stil'd the Reign of the Queen Mother and the *Guises*.

Charles the Ninth, Brother to the deceas'd King, being ten Years and six Months old at his Accession, the Queen Mother *Catherine de Medicis* had the Address to procure herself to be declar'd Regent again; she gave both Parties Hopes of joining with them, and by that means secur'd both of them in her Interest.

Charles IX
1560.

This Reign began with opening the Assembly of the States, which had been conven'd in the last. Here the Regency was confirm'd to the Queen; the King of *Navarre* was constituted Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; the Constable Generalissimo of the Forces, and the Office of Treasurer or Superintendant of the Finances was conferr'd on the Cardinal of *Lorrain*.

As the States were assembled on account of Religion, their Debates run chiefly on that Subject. The Speaker of the third Estate inveigh'd vehemently against the Irregularities and Encroachments of the Clergy: The Speaker of the Nobility propos'd the granting of Churches to the Protestants; while the Speaker of the Ecclesiasticks on the other hand declar'd against all Innovations in Religion, and mov'd that whoever shou'd petition for any Indulgence to the Hereticks, shou'd be deem'd a Heretick himself, and be punish'd accordingly; for the Admiral *Coligni*, it seems, had preferr'd a Petition to his Majesty just before in favour of the Protestants. This Assembly broke up at last without coming to any Resolution. The King granted a general Pardon

Debates
onReligi-
on in the
Assembly
of the
States.

Pardon for all that was pass'd, and the Business of Religion was to be further treated of in the next Meeting of the States, which was appointed to be held at *Pontoise*.

About this time the Constable forsook the *Hugonot* Party, and was reconcil'd to the *Guises* by the Management of the Marshal of St. *Andre*; and these three having a great stroke in the Administration, obtain'd the Name of the *Triumvirate*.

A Conference between the Papists and Protestants.

1561.

Another Petition being presented to the King in behalf of the *Hugonots* by the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde* and the *Coligni's*, he referr'd it to the Parliament of *Paris*, who were very severe upon that Persuasion. They declar'd it to be their Opinion, that the Magistrates ought to put the Laws in Execution against Hereticks: that the Cognizance of Religious matters ought to be referr'd to the Ecclesiastical Courts, who were their mortal Enemies; and that it should not be lawful to Preach or administer the Sacraments in any other manner than was observ'd in the Court of *Rome*. Hereupon the Protestant Lords propos'd a Conference between their Doctors and the Catholics, which being granted by the Queen Mother, *Beza* and all the most celebrated Fathers of the Reformation, came to the *French* Court to assist at it. These Conferences were open'd on the ninth of *September* 1561, at the Abby of *Poissy*, in the Presence of the King, Queen, the Princes, and a great Number of Lords and Prelates. The King having in a few Words signified his Desire to see them united in the Business of Religion, the Chancellor made a Speech, which the Catholics did not at all approve of, and he was answer'd by the Cardinal de

Tournon.

Tournon. Then *Beza* was permitted to speak in behalf of the Principles of the Reformed; and being a Man of Learning and Eloquence, was heard with great Patience till he came near the Conclusion of his Harangue, where having repeated the Profession of his Faith agreeable to the Apostles Creed, and explain'd some Articles of it according to *Calvin's* Doctrine, he took occasion to say, *That the Body of Christ was as far remov'd from the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, as Heaven was from Earth,* it occasion'd a general Murmur, and the Cardinal *de Tournon* rose up and inveigh'd bitterly against the Blasphemy, as he call'd it, desiring the King not to suffer himself to be impos'd upon by these new Doctors, but order them to depart the Kingdom immediately, where their Presence serv'd only to corrupt the People. *Beza* press'd the King on the other hand to give him leave to reply to the Cardinal, but cou'd not obtain it: however, he was permitted afterwards to have some private Conferences with the Catholick Doctors, in order to prevent his publishing his Reply. The *Calvinists* sent Accounts of these Conferences to their Brethren all over *Europe*, which were much to their Advantage: But this, says the *Jesuit* my Author, was no more than was to be expected.

Soon after these Conferences, the *Guises* and the Pope's Legate apply'd themselves to the King of *Navarre*, in order to draw him off from the Protestant Interest. They assure us, that the Disputes at *Poissy* had a considerable Effect upon him; but are so Ingenious at the same time to acknowledge, that they tempted him to change sides by the Hopes they gave him of procuring his Dominions

1562.

An Edißt
in Favour
of the Pro-
testants.

that were possess'd by the *Spaniards*, to be restor'd him. They represented also, that he was despis'd even by the *Hugonots* themselves, while his younger Brother the Prince of *Conde*, was ador'd by that Faction. And by these and other Arguments of the like Nature, they prevail'd on him to declare for the Triumvirate, and consequently for the Papists. This Alteration very much alarm'd the Queen, who apprehended that Party wou'd now become so Powerful, that she shou'd in a manner be govern'd by them; whereupon she enter'd into a stricter Union than ever with the Prince of *Conde* and the *Coligni's*, and publish'd an Edißt, whereby the Protestants were permitted to meet in the Suburbs of Towns, upon Condition of restoring to the Catholics the Churches they were possess'd of in the Towns themselves.

This Edißt enrag'd the Popish Party to the last Degree, for abundance of Protestants, who till then had conceal'd their Principles, declar'd themselves, and went in Crouds to hear their Preachers: The Monks and Nuns also, weary of their Condition, left their Cloysters, pretending they had a Right to enjoy the Benefit of this Edißt, as well as others: And several Priests took Wives, and were married at the *Hugonot* Conventicles. These Apostacies, as the Papists term'd them, they apprehended were occasion'd in a great measure by the Countenance that was given them by the Prince of *Conde* at *Paris*, as well as by the Edißt. The *Guises* therefore, the King of *Navarre*, and their Friends, agreed to raise Forces, and drive the Prince from that City; but as the Duke of *Guise* was bringing up a Party of Men in pursuance of this

his Resolution, and had quarter'd them at *Vassi* in *Champaign*, while he was at *Mas* there, some of his Retinue went and disturb'd an Assembly of Protestants, who were met together in that Town for Religious Worship, which occasion'd a Quarrel, wherein three or four score of the Protestants were kill'd, and the rest disperſed; the News of which Massacre, as their Friends call'd it, being brought to *Paris*, the Prince of *Conde* demanded Satisfaction of the Queen; but the King of *Navarre*, the Constable, and the Duke of *Guise*, having assembled their Troops, seiz'd upon the King and Queen-Mother, and brought them from *Montbailieu* to *Paris*. The Queen, to her unspeakable Grief, finding her self in the power of the Triumvirate, and in a manner divested of the Regency, sent Courier after Courier to the Prince of *Conde*, (who was retir'd from *Paris* to muster his Forces) to come and rescue the King and herself out of their Hands; but tho' the Prince was not on a Condition to effect this, he made himself Master of *Orleans*, where he permitted his Party to plunder the Churches of their Plate, to support the War; after which he publish'd a Manifesto, and dispers'd it in all Parts of the Kingdom, and among the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, wherein he enlarges on the Massacre of *Vassi*, and protests they had recourse to Arms purely for their Defence, to deliver the King and Queen from the captivity in which they were detain'd; charging the *Guises* with being the Authors of the War. The Lords and others who joyn'd the Prince, swore Obedience to him, as Lieutenant of the Kingdom till the King was of Age, and promis'd to stand by him.

The War
breaksout
between
the Pro-
testants
and
Papists.

The P. of
Conde's
Success.

in protecting the King, Queen, and Kingdom at the hazard of their Lives and Fortunes. In the Compass of a few Weeks, a Multitude of Cities and Towns submitted to his Forces of which the Chief were *Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Rochelle, Rouen, Diepe, Havre de Grace, Bourges, Montauban, Montpellier, Nantz, Lyons, Grenoble, and Valence*; and the *Cevennes* and *Vivarez* in general came over to them. The *Guises* on the other Hand sent Detachments of their Forces into all the Provinces, to preserve them in their Interests; and with the Body of their Army, consisting of sixteen or seventeen thousand Men, of which one Half were *Swiss*, march'd to attack the Prince of *Condé* who not being yet join'd by the *Germans* his Confederates, shut himself up in *Orleans* with a good Garrison, and put the rest of his Forces into the Towns of the greatest Importance; whereupon *Blois*, and several other Towns, were retaken by the *Guises*, and they determin'd to besiege the Prince in *Orleans*. But the Queen of *England* about this time sending Forces into *Normandy* under the Earl of *Warwick*, to assist the Protestants on that side, and it being apprehended if the *English* once establish'd themselves here might be difficult to remove them, it was agreed in a Council of War to lay Siege to *Rouen*, which was defended by the Earl of *Montgomery* and two thousand *English*, besides the Inhabitants who were form'd into Companies. The Town however was taken and plunder'd, and *Montgomery* found means to retire to *Havre de Grace*. The King of *Navarre* was mortally wounded at this Siege and died soon after. The Prince of *Condé* receiving a Re-inforcement of six or seven thousand

Rouen taken by the Papists, where the King of *Navarre* is kill'd.

thousand Men from *Germany* about this time,
 left *Orleans*, and march'd up to the Gates of
Paris, where he hop'd there might be an In-
 surrection in his favour in the absence of the
Guises; he attack'd the Suburbs, but his
 Friends in the Town not being strong enough,
 durst not shew themselves. He determin'd
 therefore to march into *Normandy*, and join
 the *English* Troops, but he had not march'd
 far before he found the Constable and the
Guises posted in his Way, with eighteen or
 twenty thousand Men, in order to prevent
 this Conjunction, which occasion'd a general
 Battle near *Dreux*, in which the Marshal of
St. Andre was kill'd, and the Constable who
 was General of the Catholicks taken Prisoner
 on the one side, as the Prince of *Conde*
 General of the *Hugonots* was on the other;
 whereupon the Duke of *Guise* took upon him
 the Command of the Popish Army, as the
 Admiral *Coligni* did the Command of the
 Protestants. The Engagement was very
 bloody, and both sides claim'd the Victory,
 but neither had any great reason to boast:
 Certain it is, the Admiral march'd afterwards
 to *Orleans*, whither he carried the Constable
 Prisoner, without any interruption from the
 Duke of *Guise*. The Duke however receiving
 Re-inforcements from several Parts of the
 Kingdom, found himself strong enough in a
 little time after to lay Siege to *Orleans*, the
 taking of which City, he apprehended,
 wou'd be a decisive Blow, and carry with
 it the entire Destruction of *Calvinism*; but
 while he lay before the Place, and was upon
 the point of accomplishing his Design, he
 was assassinated, being shot with a Pistol by
 one *Poltrot* a young Gentleman of *Angoumois*
 upon

The
 Battle
 of *Dreux*.

The D. of
Guise kil-
 led at the
 Siege of
Orleans.

upon the eighteenth of *February* 1563-4 in the Evening. His Party were of Opinion, that the Assassin was employ'd by the Admiral. This Death, says the *Jesuit* my Author, was an irreparable Loss to Religion and the State. The Murderer was seiz'd, and some time after executed at *Paris*; but I don't perceive he charg'd the Admiral, or any of the Protestants with putting him upon it.

A Peace
between
the Prote-
stants and
Papists.

1563.

The Pro-
testants
assist in
driving
their
Friends
the *English*
out of
Normandy.

Upon the Death of the Duke of *Guise*, both Parties seem'd inclin'd to Peace, and a Treaty was set on Foot, wherein it was agreed, that the Protestants shou'd be allow'd to hold one Congregation or Meeting in every Bayliwick, and one or two in each Town they were Masters of, but that they shou'd not Perform Divine Worship in Churches; that the Protestant Nobility and Gentry who had high Jurisdiction in their Demesns, might perform Divine Service in their Houses with their Vassals, but that the Reformed should hold no Meetings or Assemblies in *Paris*, or the Neighbourhood of that City. The Prince of *Conde* had several Reasons for accepting this Peace, his principal Enemy was dead, he was to obtain his Liberty by it, and 'tis said he had some Hopes given him of marrying the Queen of *Scotland*: And the Queen on the other Hand being now out of Danger of the Triumvirate, whom the War had taken off, propos'd to have the whole Administration in her Hands upon a Peace, without Controul.

This Treaty was no sooner concluded, but the Generals on both sides, Protestants as well as Papists, agreed to unite their Forces, and drive the *English* out of *Normandy*,
for

for the Earl of *Warwick* still remain'd Master of *Havre de Grace*, which had been put into the Hands of *Queen Elizabeth* by the Protestants, as a cautionary Town, upon her advancing them a Sum of Money towards the Charges of the War, and she was to remain in Possession of it till the Money was repaid, or *Calais* restor'd to *England*; but the Prince of *Conde* and his Party having serv'd their Turn, and by the Queen's Assistance obtain'd Liberty of Conscience, deserted her Interest, and were as forward as the Papists in recovering that Place from her; which they found very little Difficulty in effecting, the Garrison being very much diminish'd by the Plague, and upon the surrender of the Town they carried over the Infection to *London*, where upwards of twenty thousand People died of the Pestilence.

The following Year a Peace was concluded between *France* and *England*, wherein no mention was made of *Calais*, only it was provided that the Rights of the Queen of *England* shou'd not be affected thereby.

The Year 1564 was great part of it taken up in a Journey which the King and Queen-Mother made through almost all the Provinces of *France*. In *North France*, 'tis said, the Court observ'd that the Popish Party was much stronger than that of the *Hugonots*; but in *Lyonois*, *Dauphine* and *Languedoc*, the Protestants were much more numerous than the Catholics. While the Court were engaged in this Progress, an Edict pass'd which bore very hard upon the Protestants, and rendred several Articles useless which had been stipulated in their favour at the last Peace, of which the Prince of *Conde* complain'd. Another

ther Ediſt or Ordinance paſſ'd about the ſame time, which fix'd the Commencement of the Year in *January*, which before began at *Eaſter* in *France*, and was a very great Inconvenience, on account of the Moveableneſs of that Feaſt.

An Alliance between the French and Spaniards for the Extirpation of the Proteſtants at Bayonne.

1565.

1566.

Upon the King's arrival at *Bayonne*, he was met there by the Queen of *Spain* and the Duke of *Alva*, and it was agreed between the two Courts (at leaſt the Proteſtants of all Countries apprehended it ſo) to form an Alliance for the Extirpation of the Reformed Churches in *France* and the *Low Countries*; and what renders this extremely probable is, the introducing the Inquiſition into *Flanders* ſoon after, and the ſending Troops thither to Dragoon them into Popery; in the laſt of which they were imitated by the *French*. The following Year the King procur'd a Reconciliation, in appearance at leaſt, between the Duke of *Guiſe* and the Admiral *Coligni*; the latter declar'd upon Oath, that he had no Hand in the Death of the late Duke of *Guiſe* his Father; and the other declar'd himſelf content with this Satisfaction. In *Flanders* there were nothing but Tumults and Inſurrections at this time, on account of Religion, and the Invaſion of their Civil Liberties by the King of *Spain*. The Duke of *Alva* march'd thither from *Italy* with an Army of Veterans in the Year 1568, where he beheaded the Counts *Egmont* and *Horn*, who had been Governors of the Country, and done the King of *Spain* ſignal Service at the Battle of *St. Quintins*, and on other Occaſions, but wou'd not tamely part with their Liberties; the Prince of *Orange*

was

was so wise as to retire into *Germany*, where he strengthen'd his Party considerably.

The Prince of *Conde* in the mean time observing the Queen's Partiality to the Popish Party in *France*, and the Proceedings of the Duke of *Alva* in *Flanders*, made no doubt but the Extirpation of the Protestants had been agreed upon between them at *Bayonne*, of which he sent Advice into *Germany* and *England*, and enter'd into an Alliance with the Prince of *Orange* and the Calvinists of the *Low Countries*, who were call'd *Guex* or *Beggars*, on their presenting a Petition to the Court for the Preservation of their Religion and Liberties, because some of the Crowd appear'd in a tatter'd Condition, tho' it is certain most of the Nobility and Gentry of *Flanders* were in the Interest of the Protestants, and nothing but a Foreign Force cou'd ever have establish'd Popery there. But to proceed. When the Prince of *Conde* saw the *French* Court, tho' they were at Peace with all the World, take a great Body of *Swiss* into their Service, he no longer made any doubt of their Intention. In order to their Defence therefore, the Prince and the Admiral assembled their Friends, and advanc'd towards *Monceaux*, a Pleasure-House in *Brie*, where the King then was, with a Design, as their Enemies gave out, to seize on the Person of the King; but however that matter was, the *Swiss* were so much stronger than the Prince's Party, that he did not think fit to attack them. The King was afterwards escorted by the *Swiss* to *Paris*, when several of the *Hugonot* Parties appear'd, and endeavour'd to give some Interruption to his March, but they did not come to an Engagement.

The Civil War breaks out again in *France*.

1567.

The Prince being afterwards considerably re-inforc'd, possess'd himself of *Montereau*, *Lagni* and *St. Denis*, and block'd up the City of *Paris*, not so closely however but the King's Troops every Day enter'd the Town, and became at length superior to those of the Prince; whereupon it was resolv'd to give him Battle. The Constable accordingly march'd out with fourteen or fifteen thousand Men, and attack'd the Prince, who had posted himself so advantageously, that tho' his Army did not consist of more than four or five thousand Men (having detach'd great part of it to meet a Convoy of Provisions) he maintain'd his Ground, and the Constable was mortally wounded in the Engagement. During the Blockade of *Paris*, the Protestants had made themselves Masters of *Orleans* again; and about the same time the Elector *Palatine* and the rest of the Protestant Princes of *Germany* sent a Body of eleven or twelve thousand Men to the Assistance of the Prince of *Conde*, who thereupon rais'd the Blockade of *Paris*, and went to the Confines of *Lorraine* to meet them. The King also receiv'd large Reinforcements from *Germany* and *Switzerland*, so that the Country was ravag'd and plunder'd by Foreigners as well as the Natives from one End to the other. Nor was this the worst: The Court were apprehensive that the introducing so many Foreign Troops into the Kingdom might in a little time indanger the State; and therefore it was resolv'd to conclude a Peace with the Prince on any Terms almost, in order to rid the Nation of them. A Treaty was accordingly set on foot, whereby it was agreed, that the Edict of Pacification concluded in the Year 1562 shou'd be confirm'd,

A Battle
near *Paris*.

1568.
A Peace
conclu-
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confirm'd, and that the King shou'd pay the *German Troops* that came to the Assistance of the Protestants.

This Peace was not of long duration ; for the Court of *France*, which was at this time govern'd by the Queen-Mother, the treacherous *Catherine de Medicis*, made it with no other View than of destroying the Prince of *Conde* and the Admiral, the Heads of the Protestant Party, who were indeed so jealous of her, that they did not think fit to reside at Court, but retir'd to their respective Estates, among their Friends and Vassals. The King there-upon order'd his Troops to be dispos'd in such a manner that they might by degrees surround these Noblemen and make them Prisoners ; and the Admiral going to pay the Prince of *Conde* a Visit at *Noyers*, a large Detachment of the Army was sent to seize them ; of which these Gentlemen having some Intelligence, they order'd two hundred Horse to be got ready, and without communicating the Reason of it to any of their Domesticks, they march'd at the Head of them on the twenty-fifth of *August* in the Night-time, and having forded the *Loire*, took the Road to *Rochelle*. This vile Attempt of the Court to surprize the Prince when they had just made Peace with him alarm'd the Protestants, and put them upon assembling their Troops in all the Provinces for their Defence. The Queen of *Navarre* also came to *Rochelle* with a strong Body of Troops, so that the Prince of *Conde* soon found himself at the Head of a numerous Army again. The Queen of *England* furnish'd him with considerable Sums of Money and warlike Stores, which were the things he most wanted ; and the *Germans* promis'd him a

An Attempt to seize the P. of *Conde* and the Admiral at *Noyers*.

The War commences again.

Re-inforcement of Troops the following Spring. The Winter was taken up with little Skirmishes, beating up each others Quarters, or surprising places of no great Consequence.

1569.

The Protestants
defeated
at Jarnac,
and the P.
of Conde
kill'd.

The Duke of *Anjou*, the King's Brother, (who had had the Command of the Royal Army ever since the Death of the late Constable *Montmerency*, kill'd in the last Battle near *Paris*) took the Field early in the Spring, in order to fight the Prince before he shou'd be join'd by his *German* Allies. And though the Protestants avoided coming to a general Engagement all they cou'd, the Duke fell upon them near *Jarnac*, and defeated them, the Prince of *Conde* their General being kill'd upon the Spot; not accidentally, but by Design, in pursuance of the Orders of the Court to their Generals, to give him no Quarter if ever he shou'd be in their Power. The Prince it seems charging very briskly at the Head of his Troops, was dismounted, and being unable to disengage himself from the Enemy that surrounded him, surrender'd: The Baron *de Montesquion* coming up in that very instant, demanded who he was, and being told he was the Prince of *Conde* who was wounded and taken, *Kill him, kill him*, he cried with an Oath, and immediately shot him through the Head. The Admiral, notwithstanding this Misfortune, made a good Retreat, and put the greatest part of the Infantry which had not suffer'd much, into the fortified Towns; and having still with him about four thousand Horse, march'd to *Tonna Charente*, where he met the Queen of *Navarre* with her Son *Henry* Prince of *Bearn*, about sixteen Years of Age, and Prince *Henry*, Son of the late Prince of *Conde*, who was about seventeen. Here it was agreed,

agreed, that the Prince of *Bearn* shou'd be declar'd Head of the Protestant Party: accordingly they all took an Oath to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes till they could obtain an honourable Peace. In the mean time the Duke of *Deux Pons* enter'd *Franche Comte* at the Head of twelve thousand *Germans*; and notwithstanding all the Opposition of the King's Forces that harras'd his Army from time to time, he continu'd his March quite through *France*, cross'd the *Loire*, and was upon the point of joining the Admiral, when the Duke was taken dangerously ill, and died before he saw him; whereupon Count *Mansfield* took upon him the Command of the *Germans*, and join'd the Admiral on the twenty-third of *June*. The Royal Army also was re-inforc'd by great Numbers of *Italians*, *Germans* and *Swiss*, which still render'd them superior to the Protestants, but not so much however as to hope for a speedy end of the War. The Queen-Mother therefore propos'd in the Cabinet Council, into which the young Duke of *Guise* had been lately admitted, to proscribe the Admiral, and set a Price upon his Head, believing if they cou'd once procure him to be taken off, the Protestant Interest must sink. Whereupon the Parliament of *Paris*, at the Instance of the Attorney General, condemn'd the Admiral to Death as a Traytor and a Felon, offering fifty thousand Crowns to any Person that should take or kill him; which had such an Influence on one of his Valets, that he attempted to poison his Master, and was hang'd for it. This Stratagem not succeeding, the Duke of *Anjou* assembled all his Forces, and gave Battle to the Admiral near *Moncontour*, and defeated him.

Admiral
Coligni
proscrib'd

He is
defeated
at *Mon-*
contour.

The

The Admiral hereupon determin'd to abandon all the Towns in *Poitou*, and to keep Possession only of *St. John d'Angeli*, *Rochelle*, *Angouleme* and *la Charite* beyond the *Loire*, which were in a Condition to sustain a Siege; to retire to the Mountains of *Auvergne*, *Viverrais*, *Languedoc* and *Gascogne*, and to endeavour to join the Earl of *Montgomery*, who had still a good Body of Forces in *Navarre*; and he did not neglect to send Couriers to *England*, *Germany* and *Switzerland*, to acquaint them with his Circumstances, and desire Re-inforcements.

1570.

A Peace
conclu-
ded at St.
Germans.

The Admiral having join'd the Earl of *Montgomery*, undertook to march quite cross *France*, to meet the *Germans* who were coming to his Assistance: but before he had effected it, Terms of Peace were again offer'd him by the Court, with a treacherous View indeed, which he had sufficient reason to suspect; but his Circumstances were such (great part of the Forces which were design'd to join him from *Germany* being carried into the *Low Countries* by the Prince of *Orange*) that he thought it expedient once more to enter into a Treaty with the King, wherein, besides the Concessions made the Protestants by former Pacifications, the Towns wherein they were permitted to hold their Assemblies for Divine Worship were specify'd; the Cities of *Rochelle*, *la Charite*, *Montauban* and *Coignac*, were granted them for Cautionary Towns; the Protestants were declar'd capable of publick Employments and Dignities, and the Prince of *Orange* was put into Possession of the Principality of that Name; which were such advantageous Conditions as the Protestants cou'd scarce have expected if their Affairs had been never so prosperous. This was call'd

call'd the Treaty of *St. Germans* from the place where it was held.

The following Year 1571, the King solemniz'd his Marriage with *Elizabeth* of *Austria*, Daughter of the Emperor *Maximilian* : And in order to draw the Heads of the *Hugonot* Party to Court, about the same time propos'd another Marriage between *Henry* Prince of *Bearn*, Son to the Queen of *Navarre*, and his Sister the Princess *Margaret*, which the Queen of *Navarre* joyfully accepted of, and set out with her Son for *Paris* in order to see it solemniz'd.

1571.
The
King's
Marriage.

The King went as far as *Blois* to meet her, and at the first Interview gave her all imaginable Testimonies of his Friendship and Confidence in her ; and was so delighted with the treacherous part he had acted, that he ask'd the Queen-Mother with Joy, *Whether he had not play'd his Part well* ; the Queen answering it signified nothing to begin unless he finish'd it, he reply'd with an Oath, that *he wou'd have them all in the Net*.

1572.

The next point was to draw the Admiral into the Snare ; and while they were deliberating about, it, he furnish'd them with a specious Pretence of inviting him to Court himself. The King, in order to induce the Protestants to put the greater Confidence in him, had declar'd that he wou'd make War on the King of *Spain*, which Court was known to be the great Support of the House of *Guise*, the Authors of most of the severe Proceedings against the Protestants in this Kingdom. The King proceeded so far as to suffer the Prince of *Orange* to raise Troops in *France* to oppose the Spaniards in the *Low Countries*, and did many other things that look'd as if he had really design'd a Rupture with *Spain*. Whereupon

upon the Admiral sent Count *Nassau* to his Majesty, to offer his Advice and Assistance in that Service : The King let the Count know, that he look'd upon the Admiral as the most experienc'd Soldier in his Kingdom, and the Person who cou'd best advise him in an Affair of this Consequence ; and if he shou'd declare War against *Spain*, he wou'd intrust him with the Command of the Army, having some Suspicion of the other Generals, meaning the *Guises* and their Faction, on account of the Correspondence they held with that Court : but that it was necessary the Admiral shou'd come to him, that they might consider together what Measures were proper to be taken in an Enterprize of that Importance. Count *Nassau* returning to the Admiral, conjur'd him to lay hold on this favourable Opportunity, which tended to raise him to the highest pitch of Credit and Power, and put him in a Condition of being serviceable to his Friends, both at home and in the *Low Countries*. The Marshals *Montmerency* and *Cosse*, wrote to the Admiral also, to persuade him to come to Court. After he had taken some little time to deliberate upon the matter, he resolv'd to set out for *Paris*. The King receiv'd him in all Appearance with the greatest Respect and Kindness, and order'd him fifty Gentlemen of his own choosing for his Guard, defray'd his Charges, and admitted him into his Council. He gave the Earl of *Rochefoucaut*, *la Noue*, and the rest of his Friends the like Reception, and seem'd to discourse as freely with these Lords, as with any about the Court. To disguise his Intentions the more, *Schomberg* was sent to the Protestant Princes of *Germany* to make an Alliance with them. The Negotiation

with

with the Queen of *England* concerning her Marriage with the Duke of *Anjou* also was reviv'd, and a Treaty concluded with that Princess, purporting, that if the King of *Spain* shou'd seize or detain the Ships of either Nation in his Ports, which often happen'd, they shou'd reciprocally assist each other to procure Satisfaction. And the King of *Spain* took such Umbrage at these Steps, that he actually recall'd his Ambassador from the Court of *France*, all which confirm'd the Admiral and the Protestants in the Sincerity of the King's Intentions. But while they were making Preparations at Court for the Marriage of the Prince of *Bearn* with the King's Sister, the Queen of *Navarre*, his Mother, was taken ill and died in a few Days, suppos'd to be poison'd. It was given out however, that she died of an Ulcer in her side on her being open'd, which made the Admiral take little notice of it, any more than the Prince of *Bearn* her Son, who upon her Death took upon him the Title of King of *Navarre*. But two or three Days after as the Admiral was returning home, and reading a Petition that had been presented him, a Musket was fir'd at him from a Window, and one of the Bullets struck off the second Finger of his right Hand, and the other wounded him in the left Arm: Upon this he stood still, and observing from whence the Shot came, *This, says he, is the Fruit of my Reconciliation with the Duke of Guise.* *Man-revel*, the Assassin, had a Horse ready, and fled out of the Port *St. Antoine*. The King soon after came to visit the Admiral, and swore he would punish the Author of this villainous Attempt; and express'd so much Concern on the occasion, that the Admiral was persuaded

Q. of *Navarre* dies.

The Admiral wounded by an Assassin.

The
Massacre
of Paris.

of his Sincerity, and wou'd not remove into a place of Security as his Friends advis'd him. The rest of the Protestants however were sufficiently alarm'd at the Accident, and began to consult how they might defend themselves in case they were attack'd; which the Queen-Mother having notice of, went to the King, and told him it was now no longer time to deliberate, that his Crown and Life and the Safety of the whole Royal Family was at stake, that the *Hugonots* were preparing to revenge themselves on the Duke of *Guise*, and that *Paris* would be made a Scene of Blood and Confusion, and it was better to prevent his Enemies than fall a Sacrifice to them. Thus far the Jesuit my Author, who forgets that he himself has told us more than once, that this Scheme for destroying the *Hugonots* was laid long before, tho' now he would have it appear, that his Majesty and the Court only consulted their own Security; so barbarous did the ensuing Tragedy appear, even to the Roman Catholicks themselves, that they seem to acknowledge nothing but a View to their own Preservation cou'd justify the Authors of it. But to proceed, a Cabinet Council being held upon the Occasion, it was resolv'd that the Admiral and all the *Hugonots* throughout the Kingdom should be put to death, except the young King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*: And that it might be done effectually, the Duke of *Guise* their mortal Enemy was trusted with the Execution of it. The Duke, says the Jesuit my Author, never receiv'd a Commission that was more agreeable to him: He immediately order'd the Provost of *Paris* to give Directions to the Captains of the several Wards to raise the Citizens, and that upon the ringing the Alarm

Bell

Bell in the Palace on the Eve of *St. Bartholomew*, they shou'd set up Lights in their Windows, break into the Houses of the Protestants, and murder them without Mercy: all which was executed with such Expedition and Secrecy, says the same Writer, as nothing but the extreme Hatred of the Catholick *Parisians* to the *Hugonots* could have made them observe. About Midnight the Duke of *Guise*, with the Duke of *Aumale*, the grand Prior of *France*, several Officers, and three hundred Soldiers, broke open the Admiral's Gates, and sending some of their Number directly into his Apartment, they stabb'd him in abundance of places, many of them after he was dead, and then threw his Body out of the Window, and afterwards cut the Throats of all that were in the House. The like Executions were made in the Palace of the *Louvre*, whilst the Citizens and Soldiers dispers'd themselves through the City, and massacred all the Protestants they found in private Houses. Messengers also were dispatch'd to all the great Towns and Provinces in the Kingdom to invite the Catholicks to take up Arms and fall upon the Protestants, which they did not fail to do in every place where they were not overpower'd; but *Meaux*, *Orleans*, *Troyes*, *Bourges*, *Angers*, *Toulouse*, *Rouen* and *Lyons* signaliz'd their Barbarity in executing this cruel and treacherous Order beyond any other Places. When the Fury of this Massacre was a little over, the King sent for the young King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* into his Closet, and told them in a haughty Tone, that he was now reveng'd of his Enemies, who under the Umbrage of their Names as Princes of the Blood had made War upon him, and wou'd have

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depriv'd

depriv'd him both of his Life and Crown. That he requir'd them both to return to the Religion of their Ancestors, or it wou'd not be in his Power to protect them from the Fury of the People. The King of *Navarre* answer'd, he was ready to obey his Majesty in all things; but the Prince of *Conde* said, nothing shou'd induce him to act contrary to his Conscience: However, upon the King's threatening him that he should not be alive three Days if he remain'd obstinate, that young Prince thought fit to follow the Example of the King of *Navarre*.

The Parliament approve the Massacre and attain the Admiral and his Adherents.

Rochelle besieg'd, 1573.

D of *Anjou* chosen K. of *Poland*.

The King went to the Parliament soon after, and acquainted them with the Reasons of this horrid Execution; whereupon *Christopher de Thou* First President highly commended his Prudence and Conduct in this Affair. The Advocate General pray'd that the Admiral and his Accomplices, who were dead, might be proceeded against according to the Forms of Law; which being done, the Admiral was hang'd in Effigie on a common Gibber, to which the Mob had some Days before fastned his Body, and from whence it had been taken away by his Friends. The Court, during the Consternation this Massacre had put the Protestants in, endeavour'd to recover the Towns that had been granted them, but *Montauban* and *Rochelle* both held out against their Forces, whereupon the latter was besieg'd in form by a numerous Army commanded by the Duke of *Anjou*, but the Town being well supply'd with Provisions, and having abundance of Gentlemen in it who had fled thither upon the late Massacre, baffled all their Attempts; and the Duke of *Anjou* being about the same time elected King of *Poland*, was

was glad of this Pretence to raise the Siege, after he had lost twenty-four thousand Men before it. Soon after a Treaty was set on foot with the *Rochellers*, the principal Articles whereof were, that the Protestants shou'd be permitted to keep Garrisons in *Rochelle*, *Montauban* and *Nismes*, but shou'd not assemble for Divine Service in other Towns of the Kingdom.

A Treaty with the Protestants of *Rochelle*.

The Protestants of the *Cevennes* and other Parts, were not at all satisfied with the Treaty of Pacification the *Rochellers* had made, but petition'd the King for the publick Exercise of their Religion in pursuance of former Edicts, in which they were encourag'd by the Duke of *Alencon* the King's Brother, and the Family of *Montmerency*, who were become Malecontents on the *Guises* engrossing the Administration of Affairs to themselves, and not on account of Religion. The Court having intelligence that the Dukes of *Alencon* and *Montmerency* were upon the point of joining the Protestants, caus'd them both to be secur'd in the Castle of *Vincennes*, together with the King of *Navarre*, and proceeded to put to death some of the Duke of *Alencon's* Accomplices; whereupon the several Factions had recourse to Arms in many Parts of the Kingdom, between whom there were perpetual Skirmishes, particularly in *Languedoc*, the *Vivarez* and *Normandy*, and the Earl of *Montgomery*, who commanded the Protestants in *Normandy*, had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner. In the mean time the King fell dangerously ill, and died on the thirtieth of May, at the Castle of *Vincennes*, of which the Queen-Mother sent immediate notice to her Son the King of *Poland*, advising him to return

1574.

The King dies.

return to *France* as soon as possible. The late King left only one Daughter named *Mary-Elizabeth*, who died about five Years of Age, and one Son that he had by a Concubine, who was afterwards Duke of *Angouleme*.

Henry III.

He leaves
Poland
privately.

Henry the Third at the Death of his Brother *Charles* the Ninth was seated on the Throne of *Poland*, where he was so acceptable to the People, that he despair'd of their Permission to resign that Crown, and therefore stole away from them in the Night, as if he had fled from an Enemy, and thought himself very happy when he arriv'd in the Emperor's Territories and had got out of their reach, as he did the next Day. He pass'd through *Vienne*, and from thence went to *Venice* and so to *Savoy*, where that Duke so ingratiated himself with him, that he restor'd him *Pignerol*, *Savillon* and *Perouse*, which the *French* had kept Possession of to this time: He was guarded by a great Body of the Duke of *Savoy's* Troops from *Turin* to *Lyons*, because the *Hugonots* were pretty strong in *Dauphine*, and had possess'd themselves of several Passes in his Way.

The Queen-Mother, who had govern'd the Kingdom during his absence, met him at *Lyons*, and express'd the greatest Tenderness and Affection for him imaginable, this being her favourite Son. On the other hand he assur'd her he wou'd continue to be govern'd by her Counsels, notwithstanding his advancement to the Throne; which gave her a most sensible Pleasure, for no Princess was ever so fond of Power as *Katherine de Medicis* (she had actually govern'd the State most part of the two preceding Reigns, as she did great part of this.) Here she presented his Brothers the Duke

Duke of *Alencon*, and the King of *Navarre* to him, whom she had kept in a manner Prisoners till his arrival, apprehending that the Disaffected Part of the Kingdom wou'd gladly have set the present King aside, and have advanced one of these Princes to the Throne before his arrival: The *Hugonots* she knew were sufficiently prejudic'd against his Majesty, on account of the Share they apprehended he had in the late Massacre; but I look upon the Queen-Mother her self to be the real Author of that Butchery, and that her two Sons were only her Instruments in the Execution of it.

The King having consulted with the Emperor *Maximilian*, the *Venetians*, and other Italian Powers in his way home, 'tis said, was generally advis'd to Lenity and pacifick Measures in the beginning of his Reign, but whether he was mov'd by his own Prejudices, or the Queen-Mother's Counsels the bloody *Katherine de Medicis*, he was scarce arriv'd at *Paris* before he took a Resolution of destroying the Protestants; to effect which he found himself under a Necessity of uniting with the *Guises*, whom he hated in his Heart almost as much as he did the Reformed. Whereupon the Politicians, as they were call'd, whose Disaffection to the Court proceeded rather from their Aversion to the *Guises* than upon account of Religion, join'd with the *Hugonots*, and their united Forces became very formidable; of these the Marshal *Domville* Brother to the Duke of *Montmerency* was the Chief, who being Governor of *Languedoc*, call'd an Assembly of the States of that Province, declar'd himself Head of an Association for re-establishing Peace in the Kingdom, and exhorted

The King resolves to destroy the Protestants.

The Civil War breaks out again.

exhorted all good *French* Men to join with him, in order to the obtaining a Meeting of the Estates of the Realm, for reducing their Grievances. And now the War was actually commenc'd in all the Provinces between the Royalists and the Faction of the *Guises* on the one side, and the Protestants and the Politicians or Malecontents on the other. Not a Day pass'd without Skirmishes, or the taking and retaking of Towns; the Kingdom was a Scene of Blood and Confusion. About this time died the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, Uncle to the Dukes of *Guise* and *Maine*, an implacable Enemy of the Protestants, and upon that account in great Esteem with the Catholics, whose Death was much lamented by them.

A Character of this King.

The King, before he ascended the Throne, 'tis observ'd, was a great Admirer of *Machiavil's* Politicks, especially that Part of them where he recommends a constant and profound Dissimulation, and the bringing about Designs by Ways in appearance the most remote from them: Accordingly to deceive and amuse the Heads of the several Parties, he affected to appear negligent in Affairs of State, and to employ himself only in his Devotions or Pleasures; but he mix'd his Penances and Debauches so very oddly, that he became even in the Beginning of his Reign the Contempt of his Subjects and of all *Europe*. At *Avignon* he went in Procession with the Penitents, cloathed in Sack-cloth, follow'd in the same manner by the Court-Lords, who were the greatest Libertines upon Earth; at other times he shut himself up in his Apartment with these lew'd young Fellows, who made their Court to him by giving

giving an Account of their Amours, and betraying the Secrets of the Ladies they had been familiar with; while he on the other hand lavish'd away his Credit and Treasure upon them. This occasion'd infinite Jealousies, Quarrels and Assassinations about the Court. The Women, to be reveng'd on him for exposing them, reveal'd his Secrets in their turn, magnified his Irregularities and unvail'd his Hypocrisy, which render'd him extremely odious to all Mankind. But notwithstanding the King was so much taken up with his Favourites and Mistresses, he was married about this time to *Louisa de Vaudemont* of the House of *Lorraine*, a *Guise* whom he had seen in his Passage through *Lorraine* to *Poland*, when he was much smitten with her Beauty.

The following Year a Conspiracy was discover'd against his Majesty, in which the Duke of *Alencon* the King's Brother was concern'd; but upon making his Submission the Duke obtain'd his Pardon: However, not thinking himself safe at Court, he retir'd from thence, and associated himself with the Malecontents, and the Count *Palatine* and other Protestant Princes of *Germany* rais'd Forces in order to join him: Their Vanguard indeed was defeated by the Duke of *Guise*, who gain'd a great deal of Honour by it. But the Queen-Mother finding the King to be in no Condition to resist the united Forces of the Malecontents and the Foreign Troops, advis'd him to clap up a Peace, which she negotiated in Person with the Duke of *Alencon*; the Conditions whereof were, That his Majesty shou'd pay the *German* Auxiliaries; that the Protestants and Malecontents shou'd be allow'd eight Towns for their security more

1575.

The D.
of *Alencon*
leaves the
Court.

1576.

A Treaty
between
the K. and
the Male-
contents.

than they had already ; that the King shou'd dismiss all his Troops except the *Swiss* and *Scots* Guards, and that the Protestants shou'd have the free Exercise of their Religion in all places except *Paris* and two Leagues about it; That the Courts of Justice shou'd consist of Protestant as well as Popish Judges ; that the Attainder of Admiral *Coligni* and others of his Party shou'd be revers'd ; that Marshal *Domville* shou'd have his Offices, Dignities and Governments restor'd to him ; that the Government of *Picardy* shou'd be given to the Prince of *Conde*, and that the Duke of *Alencon's* Appenage shou'd be augmented with the Dutchies of *Anjou*, *Touraine*, *Berry* and *Maine*. Whereupon the Duke obtain'd the Title of Duke of *Anjou*, and return'd to Court in a kind of Triumph ; where the King, dissembling his Resentment, receiv'd him with a thousand Caresses. What induc'd his Majesty to make many of these Concessions to the Malecontents was, the Escape of the King of *Navarre* from Court during the Negotiation : When this Prince found himself out of the King's Reach, he declar'd, that the Profession he had made of the *Romish* Religion after the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew*, was only the effect of Fear and Violence, and that he now profess'd himself to be of the Reformed Religion, in which he had been educated. Upon his coming into his Government of *Guienne*, the Malecontents resorted to him in much greater Numbers then they had done to the Duke of *Alencon*, looking upon him as a Prince that might be much more depended on than that Duke ; and this Circumstance, as has been observ'd, was one principal Motive of hastening the Treaty above

The K. of
Navarre
escapes
from
Court and
declares
himself
a Pro-
testant.

above-mentioned, and procuring those Advantageous Conditions for the Protestants and other Malecontents.

This Edict of Pacification, it was suppos'd, wou'd have produc'd great Quiet in the Nation ; but on the contrary, it was no sooner publish'd than the Papists enter'd into a Confederacy or Association for the Preservation of *their* Religion, and Extirpation of Heresy ; which Alliance obtain'd the Name of *The Holy League*, and afterwards simply *The League*. Some leading Man in every Province assembled the Popish Party, and saw them sign an Association and take an Oath for the maintenance of it ; the King and Queen-Mother encouraging or at least conniving at it ; for by this means they hop'd to see the *Hugonots* destroy'd more effectually and with less Hazard than by an open War ; and if we may judge by some Occurrences in the former Reign, the last Pacification was probably consented to with this View ; his Majesty did not then foresee that the Leaguers wou'd become so powerful as to trample on his Authority, and render him no more than the Shadow of a King, as it afterwards happen'd. The placing Garrisons also in the great Towns where the *Hugonots* were most numerous, and the Officers of the Troops supporting and incouraging the Leaguers in their Insults on that People, leaves little room to doubt that the Court were at the Bottom of those Outrages.

The Holy League form'd by the Papists.

Encouraged by the Court.

The Duke of *Guise*, though he did not yet appear, was the chief Manager and Contriver of all these Associations, and enter'd into Alliances with Foreign Princes for the Support of them, among whom he found none

The D. of Guise the Head of the League.

*Spain the
great Sup-
port of it.*

*The King
and the
States
make an
Edict
against
any Tole-
ration of
the Pro-
testants.*

more ready to espouse their Interests than *Philip II*, the bigotted King of *Spain*. The Insurrections and Revolts of the Reform'd in the *Netherlands* had sufficiently prejudic'd him against that Sect; and he was apprehensive if those of the same Persuasion in *France* should once be establish'd there, they would support his disaffected Subjects in *Flanders*. Thus Religion, Inclination and Interest all contributed to render the King of *Spain* a zealous and fast Friend to the Leaguers. But to return to *France*. The King having summon'd an Assembly of the States at *Blois*, made all the Interest he could to get the Friends of the League return'd, and declar'd himself to be the Head of it, in order, as 'tis said, to prevent the Party chusing the Duke of *Guise* for their Leader, of whose Ambition he had reason to be jealous; and still to ingratiate himself the more with the Papists, he declar'd that he would suffer no other than the *Roman Catholick* Religion in the Kingdom for the future. When the States of *Blois* were met, he procured Petitions to be presented to him to the same Effect: And it was accordingly carried in that Assembly by a great Majority, that the King should be address'd to reunite all his Subjects in the *Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion*, by the best and most wholsom Methods: That the Exercise of the pretended Reformed Religion should be prohibited both in publick and private, and that the Preachers, Deacons and Overseers of their Congregations should depart the Kingdom within a limited time, notwithstanding any former Edicts to the contrary. Whereupon the Deputies of the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde* protested against the Assembly as an unlawful Convention,

tion, not having been called or chosen according to the Laws of the Kingdom ; and indeed their Adversaries seem to admit that there was a great deal of foul play in returning the Deputies or Representatives. This Protest was very little regarded : On the contrary, the Holy League was confirm'd and sign'd by the King, the Duke of *Anjou*, and most of the Catholick Lords and Princes assembled : And the War was immediately declared and begun on all sides against the Protestants ; the Duke of *Anjou* commanding one of the Armies against them, though in the late War he was engaged on the Protestant side. But notwithstanding the King had acted with all this shew of Zeal against the *Hugonots*, either through want of Money to maintain the War, or that he dreaded the Foreign Troops which the Reformed had desired of the Queen of *England* and the *German* Princes, or whatever else was the Motive, he thought fit to conclude a Peace with the King of *Navarre* and the Malecontents the following Year ; the Terms whereof differ'd but very little from the last. The Queen-Mother afterwards made a Journey to the Court of the King of *Navarre* to invite him to come to *Paris* ; but that Prince had so narrowly escap'd the last Massacre, that she cou'd not with all her Cunning prevail upon him to venture his Life in her Power again. The Old Queen afterwards visited other parts of *France*, and seems to have a much greater share in the Administration at this time than her Son : He was content to let her take all the Fatigue of Government upon her, that he might indulge in Pleasure. At her return to Court in the Year 1579, she found he had been trifling away his time in her

The League confirm'd

War declar'd against the Protestants.

1577.
Peace concluded again with 'em.

1579.

1580.

her absence with his Mistresses and Favourites, and three of the latter having lost their Lives, two in a Duel, and a third by Assassination, he was inconsolable; and the manner of expressing his Grief for them, 'tis said, was much beneath his Royal Dignity. The latter end of this Year the Leaguers obliged the King to come to a Rupture with the Protestants again, and several Towns were taken on both sides; but by the Mediation of the Duke of *Anjou* this Breach was made up in a few Months; for the Duke had two great Designs carrying on at this time abroad, which were not consistent with the deposing the Protestant Interest in *France*: The one was a Treaty of Marriage with the Queen of *England*, and the other the obtaining the Sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, which was offer'd to him by the Prince of *Orange* and the Malecontents there. In both which Views he was supported by the Court of *France*.

1581.
The D. of
Anjou offer'd the
Sovereignty of
the *Netherlands*.

The *Low Countries* having withdrawn their Allegiance from the King of *Spain*, and invited the Duke of *Anjou* to take the Government of those Provinces upon him, he march'd with a gallant Army to the Relief of *Cambray* in the Year 1581, which was then besieged by the *Spaniards* commanded by the Duke of *Parma*; and the Siege being rais'd on his Approach, the Inhabitants receiv'd him with joyful Acclamations, and here he began to take the Government of the *Low Countries* upon him; but because he look'd upon this as the Key of the Country, he withdrew the *Walloon* Garrison, and placed one of *French* in the room of it, which render'd his new Subjects a little jealous of him.

He afterwards embark'd for *England*, where he was receiv'd by the Queen, as the *French* Historians relate, with all the most tender Marks of Affection : and the matter proceeded so far, that on the twenty-second of *November*, in the Presence of the *French* Ambassador and several *English* Lords, she put a Ring upon the Duke of *Anjou's* Finger, and told him she betroth'd him that moment : She order'd also an Instrument to be drawn up in *Latin*, containing the Form that shou'd be observ'd in celebrating their Marriage, namely, the Terms the Duke of *Anjou* was to make use of in espousing the Queen, and the Words which were to be pronounc'd by her Majesty in accepting the Duke of *Anjou* for her Husband. This Instrument, they add, was sign'd by the Bishop of *Lincoln* and several *English* Lords, and the Ambassador gave Advice of it to the King of *France*, insomuch that the Affair was look'd upon as concluded, both in *France* and *England*. But the Duke of *Anjou* going to visit the Queen the next Day, she told him she had pass'd the Night in great Uneasiness, and that three such Nights wou'd bring her to her Grave : she mention'd a great many Scruples she had, and *Hatton*, one of the Privy Council, added many more. Some *English* Preachers had inveigh'd vehemently against the Marriage, by a private Order of the Queen, (as was suppos'd) and given her some Pretence for this Conduct : While the Catholick Doctors at *Paris* appear'd no less zealous against the Match than the Protestants were in *England*, declaring that this Alliance of the presumptive Heir of the Crown of *France* with an Heretical Queen, was a certain Prelude to the

He makes
his Court
to the Q.
of *England*

the Destruction of Religion in that Kingdom. The Queen however amus'd the Duke for three Months with Hopes of succeeding ; and when she permitted him to return to *Flanders*, it was upon Condition he should come over again within a Month ; and promis'd him that she wou'd constantly persevere in her Resolution of marrying him. *Thus far the French Account of that Match.*

There is no doubt but Queen *Elizabeth* made the most of the Treaties of Marriage that were propos'd between her and the Dukes of *Anjou*, (for *Henry III* when he was Duke of *Anjou* had made Love to her as well as his Brother :) She seems to have kept them in suspense upon Political Views : It was the Hopes of succeeding in these Treaties that prevented the *French* and *Spaniards* joining in the Extirpation of Heresy (as they call'd it) in pursuance of the Agreement at *Bayonne*. The Queen of *England* here shewed her self superior to *Katherine de Medicis*, the Queen-Mother of *France*, and her two Sons, who were all three of them bent upon the Destruction of the Protestants, as well as the King of *Spain* and the Pope, and could not have been diverted from it by any other means than the Hopes they had of adding *England* to their Empire by this Match : And when the Queen of *England* could no longer prevent the Ruin of the Protestants by her Treaties, we see her assisting them with her Arms, in *France*, the *Low Countries*, *Germany* and *Scotland*. To her Address therefore in a great measure is to be ascribed the establishing of the Protestant religion in *Europe*.

The Reformed in *France*, the *Low Countries* and *Scotland* had infallibly been crush'd in their Infancy if they had not been supported by the Queen of *England*: And as to her amusing the Dukes of *Anjou*, and keeping them long in suspense to obtain so glorious an End; this rather advances than lessens her Character in the Opinion of all wise Men. I don't find any thing criminal on her part in these Transactions as they are related by our own Historians. It appears indeed that there was once Articles of Marriage sign'd between the Queen and the last Duke of *Anjou*; but then they were to be void unless they were ratify'd by the *French* King, and that Prince refus'd to ratify them. 'Tis admitted also that she did once, in a merry Mood, put a Ring upon the Duke's Finger, but us'd no such Words as the *French* recite, *That she betrothed him with it*, or indeed any other Words, that were serious, on that Occasion. It is ridiculous to think that the Queen shou'd seriously use the Words of Espousal, without the Duke's reciting his Part of the Contract, which it is not pretended he did; and consequently since it was not Reciprocal, by their own Account, very little Stress cou'd be laid upon it. The *Roman* Catholicks, no doubt, were sufficiently exasperated against her, and did all that was in their Power to blast her Memory; she prevented their Religion becoming Universal, and 'tis natural to expect they shou'd frame ten thousand Falshoods in relation to this Transaction; but those who are of Opinion that the World was at all better'd by the Reformation, must for ever applaud her Conduct.

1582. The Duke of *Anjou* returning to the *Low Countries*, was met by the Prince of *Orange* and the States at *Flushing*, and being conducted to *Antwerp*, was there declar'd Duke of *Brabant* and Earl of *Flanders*. In the mean time the King of *Spain* set a Price upon the Prince of *Orange*'s Head, promising a Reward of twenty-five thousand Crowns to the Person (or his Heirs) that shou'd destroy him; whereupon *Joanna* *Fauregni*, a *Biscayner*, undertook to assassinate him, and having obtain'd leave to present a Petition to the Prince, fir'd a Pocket Pistol close to his Head while he was reading it, and one of the Balls went through both his Cheeks, and the Assassin was immediately cut in Pieces; but the Wound not being mortal, the Prince of *Orange* soon recover'd. It was reported immediately among the Mob that the Duke of *Anjou* had been the Author of this Attempt, in order to take off the Prince, who, he thought, had too much Authority among the *Flemmings*; whereupon all the *French* were seiz'd and disarm'd, and the Duke of *Anjou* himself was in danger of being pull'd in Pieces, if the Prince of *Orange* had not sent a Letter to assure the People that neither the Duke or any of the *French* were concern'd in the Attempt, but that the Authors of it were discover'd by Papers found upon the Assassin.

The Duke of *Anjou*, however, being join'd by some Re-inforcements from *France* soon after, was the Author of another Attempt, which quite ruin'd his Interest among the *Flemmings*. He was really piqu'd to see the Prince of *Orange* govern all in the *Low Countries*, while he himself had scarce any Authority amongst

amongst them to support the glorious Titles they had given him of Duke of *Brabant* and Earl of *Flanders*. He determin'd therefore in a Council he held with his own Officers, to make himself Master of the principal Towns, and Garrison them entirely with *French* Forces; and on a Day prefix'd, viz. the 13th of *January*, they were at one and the same instant to have seiz'd *Antwerp*, *Bruges*, *Dunkirk*, *Dendermonde*, *Vilvorde* and other Places, and expell'd the Prince of *Orange's* Troops: But at *Antwerp*, which he design'd to have seiz'd himself, and in most other Towns, the *French* were overpower'd by the *Flemmings*, and great numbers of them kill'd: They were successful only at *Dunkirk*, *Dixmude* and *Dendermonde*, and these Places they were forc'd to abandon soon after; whereupon the Duke of *Anjou* retir'd into *France*, and notwithstanding the *French* King sent Ambassadors to the States and offer'd his Mediation to reconcile these Differences, the *Flemmings* were so alarm'd at the Attempt to seize their Towns, that they wou'd not admit the *French* among them again. This Disension between the *French* and the *Flemmings* was as advantageous to the Duke of *Parma* the *Spanish* General as if he had obtain'd a Victory: He took *Dunkirk* and many other Places, and prevail'd on the Provinces of *Flanders*, *Artois* and *Hainault* to return to the Obedience of their Sovereign the King of *Spain*; and the ill Success of the Duke of *Anjou*, together with his Disappointment in *England*, 'tis said, had such an Effect upon him, that it broke his Heart. But however that was, certain it is, the Duke died at *Chateau Thierry* on the tenth of *June* 1583; upon whose Death the King of *Navarre*, the next Prince of the Blood,

1583.

became presumptive Heir to the Crown of *France*, to the no small mortification of the Leaguers, this Prince being a Protestant.

1584.

The Heads of the League therefore assembled on this Occasion, under Pretence of preserving the Catholick Religion, and resolv'd that in Case of the King's Death, the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, Brother to the Prince of *Conde*, shou'd be acknowledg'd King of *France*; and that in the mean time all those who had sign'd the League shou'd be ready to take up Arms.

1585.

The Pope declares it lawful to take up Arms against the King.

The Cardinal *de Bourbon*'s Declaration in behalf of the League.

They apply'd also to the Pope, the King of *Spain* and other Catholick Princes, who promis'd them their Assistance; the Pope particularly declar'd, That the Catholick Princes might take up Arms for the Defence of the Catholick Religion in *France*: That a War against the *Hugonots* was just and lawful; and that it was not only allowable to make War upon them, but upon all those who favour'd and assisted them, even tho' they bore the Royal Character (meaning the *French King*). The Duke of *Guise* also put the Cardinal of *Bourbon* upon publishing a Declaration, wherein he and his Associates say, That the King having no Children, they were in Danger of seeing an Heretical and Apostate Prince King of *France*, notwithstanding the Oath of their Kings at their Coronation oblig'd them above all things to maintain the Catholick Apostolick and *Roman Religion*: Then they proceed to vilifie and asperse the King and his Administration in a most scandalous manner, insinuating that he was a Debauchee and a Favourer of Hereticks; and for these weighty Reasons, adds the Cardinal, *We Charles of Bourbon first Prince of the Blood, assisted by the Princes, Cardinals, Peers, Prelates, Governors of Provinces,*

Provinces, Cities and others the soundest and best Part of the Kingdom, do declare and have sworn not to lay down our Arms till our Religion shall be secur'd, the Taxes taken off which have been introduc'd since the Reign of Charles IX, &c. The Names of the King of Spain and a great number of Catholick Princes, who had enter'd into this Association, being plac'd at the Head of the Declaration. This made an Impression on the Minds of the Catholicks of all Conditions, many of whom left the Court to repair to the Heads of the League, who proceeded immediately to Action, and besides the Towns that their Friends were already Masters of, they surpriz'd Lyons and several others.

The poor indolent King was so frightened at these Proceedings, that he empower'd the Queen-Mother, who, at bottom, was a Friend to the Leaguers, to make Peace with them on any Terms; and it was agreed between them, That there shou'd be but one Religion in France; that the Hugonot Preachers shou'd leave the Kingdom within a Month, and all other Hereticks within six Months; that they shou'd be incapable of any Office or Dignity, and that they shou'd be depriv'd of the Cities that had been yielded to them; that the King and all the Societies and Corporations in the Kingdom shou'd confirm it by their Oaths, and that the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Duke of Guise and other Heads of the League shou'd have Cities and Guards assign'd them for their Security, which the King shou'd maintain, and also advance them a considerable Sum of Money. And Pope Sixtus V, tho' he is represented as no Friend to the League, publish'd a Bull, whereby he excom-

The King makes Peace with the Leaguers.

The Pope
deposes
the K. of
Navarre
and ab-
solves his
Subjects
from
their Al-
legiance.

1586.

1587.
The Pro-
testants
obtain a
Victory
over the
Leaguers.

excommunicated the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, and depriv'd them and their Heirs of all their Estates, particularly of their Right of Succession to the Crown of *France*, and absolv'd their Subjects and Vassals from their Oaths of Allegiance.

The Leaguers at the same time compell'd the King to enter into a War with the Protestants to recover the Towns they were possess'd of; but the King of *Navarre* defended them so well, that the Leaguers gain'd few Advantages of them this Campaign; one reason might be, that the King was not very desirous at this time of seeing the *Hugonots* exterminated, and therefore carried on the War but faintly. The Year 1586 was as favourable to the Protestants. And the following Year, 1587, the King of *Navarre* obtain'd a compleat Victory over one of the Armies of the Leaguers near *Coutras*; he is extremely blam'd however that he did not afterwards endeavour to meet the *German* Auxiliaries, who, to the number of thirty thousand and upwards, were marching to join him, but suffer'd them to be surrounded and dispers'd by the Leaguers and rendred perfectly useless, without ever coming to a Battle. About this time the Prince of *Conde* died, whose Ambition and Jealousy of the King of *Navarre*, it is observ'd, prevented his doing his Party the Service he was capable of.

Besides the general League, there was a particular League or Association enter'd into by the Citizens of *Paris*, who were ten times more zealous for the Destruction of the King and the Protestants, than the rest of the Catholics in the Kingdom. The University and Preachers there maintain'd publicly that

Princes

Princes might not only be depos'd for Heresy, but for male Administration, with which they made no scruple to charge the King; and his Majesty shewing some Resentment at these Proceedings, they sent for the Duke of *Guise*, and, by his Assistance, fairly drove his Majesty out of *Paris*, who thereupon retir'd to *Rouen*. The Queen-Mother was again employ'd to negotiate a Peace between the King and the Leaguers, which she soon effected, by granting them whatever they demanded. After which the King went to reside at *Chartres*, refusing to return any more to *Paris*, where he had been so notoriously insulted and his Authority trampled on; tho' he gave them no other Reason for his residing at *Chartres* but that he shou'd be nearer *Blois*, where he had order'd the States of the Kingdom to meet the *September* following. The Queen-Mother, the Cardinal *de Bourbon* and the Duke of *Guise* went to pay their Compliments to him at *Chartres*; he receiv'd them with all the outward Marks of Esteem imaginable, declar'd the Cardinal first Prince of the Blood and Heir to the Crown, and the Duke of *Guise* Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom; after which he set out for *Blois* to meet the States, being followed thither by the Duke of *Guise*.

The
Leaguers
drive the
K. from
Paris.

1588.

The King, notwithstanding the Favours he had so lately heap'd upon the Heads of the League, hated them heartily, and having chosen a select Council at *Blois*, the first thing he determin'd (after opening the Assembly of the States) was the Death of the Duke of *Guise*: The most convenient time to dispatch him was held to be as he came into the Council Chamber, when he wou'd have discharg'd his Domesticks of course. The King committed

He studies the
Destruction of the
Leaguers.

mitted the Execution of it to an Officer and fifteen or twenty of his Guards. On the Morning he summon'd the Duke to Council he told them, that that Day either the Duke of *Guise* or he must perish, that his own Safety and that of *France* was in their Hands, that he shou'd owe his Crown and his Life to them if they succeeded, and that his Gratitude shou'd be stinted by no Bounds.

They all assur'd him they wou'd act answerably to the Trust he had honour'd them with; whereupon he sent for as many Daggers as there were Men, and on delivering them into their Hands said, *That this was an Execution of Justice which he committed to them upon the most criminal Person in his Kingdom, whom he had a Right, both by the Laws of God and Man, to punish; and since it cou'd not be done by the ordinary Methods of Justice, he authoriz'd them to do it by virtue of his Royal Prerogative.*

The Duke of *Guise* had some intimation that there was a Design upon his Life, and was advis'd by his Friends to retire; but he answer'd, he was too far advanc'd to go back, that the King and he were like two great Armies facing one another, and that if one retreated the other wou'd have the Victory. The very Day before the Execution, sitting down at Table he found a Note under his Napkin, advising him to take Care of himself, for that there was some treacherous Design form'd against him; which when he had read, he took his Pencil and wrote underneath *They dare not*, and threw it under the Table. At other times he declar'd to his Friends that he laid no manner of Stress on the Professions of Kindness the King made him, he was sensible of his Dissimulation, but the King

knew

knew very well that if any Attempt was made upon his Person it wou'd infallibly destroy himself.

But to proceed. The Duke of *Guise* being come to Court, and attending in the Anti-chamber, one of the Secretaries of State came to acquaint him that the King wanted him in his Closet, and in his Way thither being to pass through a Door where he was oblig'd to stoop, as he was lifting up the Hanging to enter it, he receiv'd six Stabs from the Guards, who were rang'd on each Side under Pretence of doing him Honour, and had only time to say, *Lord have Mercy upon me.* The King, having Notice he was dispatch'd, went out of his Closet, and the Lords about the Court being assembled, he told them, that he was now King, and wou'd have his Enemies learn by the Example he had just made, that the same Vengeance hung over their Heads if they durst attempt to lessen his Authority. He afterwards went down to the Queen-Mother's Lodgings, who lay dangerously ill, and acquainted her with what had happen'd; in Answer to which she only demanded, if he had considered the Consequences of the Duke of *Guise's* Death, and made Provision for all Events. He afterwards order'd the Cardinal *de Guise* to be dispatch'd; which made the Court of *Rome* set all their Engines on work to destroy him. He afterwards endeavour'd to seize the Duke of *Mayne* Brother to the Duke of *Guise*; but this Gentleman had the good Fortune to escape to *Paris*, where he was ador'd by the Leaguers, as well on his Brother's Account as the Zeal he had shewn for the Cause. About this time died the Queen-Mother, who had had a very great

The D:
of *Guise*
murder'd.

Share in the Administration in this and the two former Reigns; tho' 'tis said that the King, for some time before, did not shew that Regard to her Advice as he us'd to do; which proceeded possibly from the Discoveries he made of her promoting the Designs of the Leaguers under-hand.

The Fury
of the
Leaguers
against
the King.

The Death of the Duke of *Guise* was so far from terrifying the *Parisians*, that their Council of sixteen, and their bigotted Preachers, incited the Mob to revenge themselves on their Sovereign by all the Ways imaginable: They defaced his Statues and Pictures, publish'd the most scandalous Invectives against him, and propos'd it to the Faculty of Theology as a Case of Conscience, Whether the People of *France* might not take up Arms, raise Money and unite in the Defence of the Catholick Religion, against a Prince who had violated the publick Faith at the Assembly of the States, and whether this did not discharge them from their Oaths of Allegiance? Which was resolv'd in the Affirmative. After this they no more gave him the Title of King, or mention'd him in their publick Prayers, but as a perjur'd, excommunicated Person, an Heretick, and the most detestable of Mankind. They swore upon a Crucifix never to depart from the League, but to pursue with the utmost Vengeance all that had been concern'd in the Death of the Duke or Cardinal *de Guise*. They declar'd the Duke of *Mayenne* Lieutenant-General of the Royal State and Crown of *France*, and vested him with almost Sovereign Authority. The King hereupon found himself under a Necessity of uniting his Forces with the King of *Navarre* and the Protestants, who receiv'd him with open Arms. The two
Kings,

Kings, after having secur'd the Cardinal *de Bourbon* in the Castle of *Chinon*, and made themselves Masters of some Towns in their Way, march'd and invested the City of *Paris*, *Paris* be-
into which the Duke of *Maine* had thrown sieg'd by
himself (after some Conquests he had made in the King.
Normandy) with a numerous Garrison. The
King took up his Quarters during the Siege
at *St. Cloud*, and the King of *Navarre* at
Meudon, and it was very likely that the City
of *Paris* wou'd have been oblig'd to surrender
in a short time for want of Provisions; but
James Clement, a young Dominican Fryar,
who had been work'd up by the Preachers of
Paris to a Belief that it was lawful, and even
meritorious to deprive a Tyrant of his Life,
and especially a Favourer of Hereticks, as
they had represented his Majesty to be, found
Means to be admitted to the King, by virtue
of credential Letters which he pretended he
had brought from *Harlay* the first President of
the Parliament of *Paris*: While his Majesty
was examining these Credentials, having only
two Persons with him in his Closet, from
whom he withdrew to a little Distance on
the Monk's telling him that he had something
to say to him in private, the Villain, at that
instant, drew a Knife out of his Sleeve, and *The King*
having stabb'd the King in the Belly with it, assassi-
nated.
left it there: His Majesty took the Knife out
of the Wound himself, and struck the Assassin
in the Eye with it, who was immediately
knock'd down and cut in Pieces by the Guards,
who came running in on hearing the Noise,
and he was afterwards thrown out of the
Window.

The Surgeons were immediately sent for,
and found the Wound four Fingers below the

He leaves
the
Crown to
the K. of
Navarre.

Navel, and about a Finger's Length, the Gut, part of which came out at the Orifice, not being hurt; but the Pain, and a cold Sweat which succeeded, with the Alteration of the King's Pulse, gave little Hopes of his Life. The King of *Navarre* therefore coming to wait on his Majesty, he told him he left the Crown of *France* to him as his lawful Succession, but assur'd him he never wou'd enjoy it quietly unless he became a Catholick, which he exhorted him to be: After this he call'd for the Lords about the Court, and commanded them to acknowledge the King of *Navarre* for their lawful Sovereign if he did not recover, which they all swore to do. His Majesty's Fever encreasing, he receiv'd the *Viaticum*, declaring he died in the Faith of the Catholick Apostolick *Roman* Church, and afterwards expir'd on the second of *August* about four in the Morning, in whom ended the Branch of *Angouleme*, which was a part of the House of *Orleans*, and all the Race of *Valois*, who had sway'd the Scepter for two hundred and sixty Years, and now left it to *Henry* King of *Navarre*, of the Family of *Bourbon*, stil'd *Henry* the Fourth.

Henry IV.
1589.

Henry of *Bourbon* deriv'd his Pedigree from *Robert* Count of *Clermont*, Lord of *Bourbon*, the fifth and youngest Son of *Saint Lewis*. He was the Head of the Branch of *Bourbon-Vendome*, and nearest in Blood to the Crown after the Extinction of the House of *Valois* by the Death of *Henry III.*

The late King was no sooner dead, but the Popish Lords about the Court came to his Majesty with the Duke of *Longueville* at their Head, and press'd him to profess the *Roman* Catholick Religion: to whom the King answered, that he was not obstinate in his present

present Persuasion, but that so sudden a Change you'd induce all considering Men to think that he had in reality no Religion at all, and that they must give him time to consider of a Point of such Importance; with which Answer many of the Popish Lords were satisfied, and took the Oaths of Allegiance upon his Majesty's promising to support the Catholick Religion: but there were others, of whom the Duke of *Espenon* was the Chief, who retir'd with their Troops in Discontent into their respective Provinces, and left the King's Army to thin that he was soon oblig'd to raise the Siege of *Paris*; and had not the Body of *Swiss* been kept in good Humour by the Address of the Marshal *de Biron*, he wou'd have run a great risk of falling into the Hands of his Enemies.

Some of the King's Troops desert him on account of his being a Protestant.

The *Parisians* were so elated at the Desertion they observ'd among the King's Troops, that they talk'd of nothing less than setting another upon the Throne. They look'd upon *James Clement* as a Martyr to their Cause, comparing him to *Ehud*, and others whom God had rais'd up to deliver his People the *Jews* from the Tyranny of their Oppressors. The Duke of *Mayenne* made his Advantages of the Fury he saw the People in. He wrote to the Towns and Governments devoted to the League, exhorting them to improve the Opportunities that Providence had put into their Hands for the Advancement of Religion, which he insinuated was upon the point of being extirpated. He wrote also to the bigotted King of *Spain*, desiring him to support them with his Forces, whereby he might prevent Heresy gaining a Superiority in *France*, as it had done in *England* and *Germany*.

The

The Lea-
guers de-
feated
near Diep.

Q. Eliza-
beth sends
a Re-in-
forcement
to the
French K.

The King in the mean time finding his Army so much weaken'd by Desertion, put Garrisons into the most considerable Towns in his Interest, and with a very small Body of Horse and Foot, bent his March towards *Diep* in *Normandy*, to wait for a Re-inforcement that was promis'd him by the Queen of *England*. The Army of the League being increas'd at this Juncture to thirty thousand Men, the Duke of *Mayenne* follow'd his Majesty into *Normandy*, and finding him intrench'd about a League from *Diep*, attack'd him very briskly, but was repuls'd with very great Loss. It is not to be conceiv'd what a Reputation this Success gave his Majesty at the beginning of his Reign: His Friends magnified his Courage and Conduct to the last degree, and his Enemies were sufficiently terrified, when they had seen him with an Army of seven or eight thousand Men defeat one of four times that number. Soon after this Battle the King being join'd by four thousand *English* and some National Troops, march'd and invested *Paris* again, to the no small Surprise of the Citizens, who had been made to believe that if he was not fled beyond Sea into *England*, they shou'd have seen him at this time led as a Prisoner thro' their Streets in Triumph by the Duke of *Mayenne*. The King attack'd the Suburbs and carried them, and was very near entering the Town it self with the flying Enemy; but the Duke of *Mayenne* throwing himself into the City with an Army equal if not superior to the King's, his Majesty drew off his Troops, and marching to *Touraine*, and from thence into *Normandy*, made himself Master of a great many considerable Towns. This Prince's Moderation, (says my Author)

the

the exact Discipline he made his Soldiers observe, the Care he took to prevent the Plunder of the Churches, and preserve the Privileges of the Clergy, contributed very much to those sudden Conquests he made.

In the mean time the Leaguers observing that the want of Royal Authority was a considerable Disadvantage to their Cause, propos'd the setting up a King in whose Name they might act. But in this they were very much divided. The *Spaniards* propos'd the marrying some Prince to the Infanta, and declaring them King and Queen of *France*; the Duke of *Lorraine* made Interest for his Son, and the Duke of *Guise* would gladly have usurp'd the Throne himself, but he did not think his Interest strong enough to carry that point, and therefore set up *Charles* Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the next in Blood to the Crown if the Protestant Princes were excluded. He was a poor decrepid old Man, and imprison'd by the Royal Party at that time, and therefore could be of no other Use to the Leaguers than by affording them his Name, and keeping out a Foreigner, whom the *Spaniards* and some of the most furious of that Party had agreed to set up. The Cardinal was accordingly proclaim'd, all publick Acts run in his Name, and he is by some Historians stil'd *Charles the Tenth*, but not generally plac'd in the Catalogue of their Kings; this perhaps would have been disagreeable to the present Royal Family, who look upon themselves to have been possess'd of the Throne of *France* ever since the Death of *Henry III.*

The Leaguers proclaim Cardinal *Bourbon* King.

This Struggle about the Choice of a Sovereign among the Leaguers, set the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Mayenne* at Variance. The Council

Misunderstandings between them.

Council of Sixteen at *Paris*, and all the furious part of the Leaguers, were in the Interest of *Spain*; while the Parliament and the Politicians, as the more moderate were call'd, follow'd the Directions of the Duke. The King of *Spain* made large Promises of Assistance to the Leaguers, but afforded them no more from time to time than he thought was necessary to keep them from sinking, that they might find themselves under a Necessity at last of throwing themselves under his Protection; and by this means he propos'd, either to give *France* a Sovereign, or to unite that Kingdom to his own. The Duke of *Mayenne* on the other hand, endeavour'd to strengthen himself against the King by the Re-inforcements he receiv'd from *Spain*, but never design'd to put himself or the Kingdom in the Power of this Prince: And these different Views occasion'd both Parties to have a jealous Eye on each other. The Duke found means at length to dissolve the Council of Sixteen, which had given him the greatest Uneasiness, and took upon himself the Exercise of the whole Regal Power, under Colour of his being elected Lieutenant of the Kingdom at the same time the Cardinal *de Bourbon*, in whose Name he acted, was proclaim'd King. His Authority being thus establish'd, in order to procure the Esteem of the *Parisians*, he took the Field and made himself Master of *Pontoise*, the Castle of *Vincennes*, and *Meulan*; and the King having besieg'd *Dreux*, a Town of Importance, he immediately march'd to its Relief; where upon a Battle was fought on the fourteenth of *March*, 1590, near *Jury*, in which the Duke of *Mayenne* was entirely defeated, and the King gain'd abundance of Honour, as his Army

1590.

The King
gains a
Victory
at *Jury*.

Army was much inferior in Numbers to that of the Enemy. The same Day the King's Troops in *Auvergne* obtain'd another Victory over the Leaguers.

Upon these repeated Successes, several Towns open'd their Gates to his Majesty, and 'tis thought if he had march'd immediately to *Paris* that City wou'd have surrendred; but the *Swiss* mutinying for want of Pay, he was forc'd to remain inactive for some time, and the People had pretty well recover'd their Consternation before his Majesty invested the Town: It was, however, at length block'd up, and the Royalists having made themselves Masters of all the Rivers above and below *Paris*, so that no Provision cou'd be brought thither, the Place was reduc'd to great Extremity by Famine, for the King's Army not consisting of above fifteen or sixteen thousand Men, and there being eight thousand foreign Soldiers in the Place, besides a great many thousand Citizens who were so well disciplin'd by the Continuance of the Civil War, that they were not much inferior to regular Forces, the King did not propose to make himself Master of the City it self any other Way than by starving it, tho he had carried the Suburbs and quarter'd his Soldiers in them. The Besieged, to supply the Want of other Food, eat Dogs, Cats, Rats and Leather, and, 'tis said, made a kind of Past of dead Mens Bones ground to Powder, so zealous were they in defence of their Superstitions, which, they imagined, wou'd be abolish'd if the King shou'd take the Town. The Duke of *Nemours*, the Governour, is much admir'd for the many Expedients he found out to keep up the Spirits of the People in this Distress; notwithstanding

Paris
block'd
up and re-
duc'd to
great Ex-
tremity.

there was so great a Scarcity of Provision, he took care to see those supply'd who were in the greatest Reputation among the People, that they might keep up the Courage of the rest: The Governor also persuaded the Nobility and wealthy Citizens to sell their Plate and Jewels to supply the Soldiers Wants, and the *Spanish* Ambassador imitated them; nor did the Duke of *Nemours* fail to make his Advantage of the Madness and Bigotry of the Clergy and Religious, the Preachers were extremely useful to him in declaiming against Heresy, and the King as the great Supporter of it; they assured the People that they fought in the Cause of Heaven, that those of them who surviv'd wou'd infallibly be Conquerors, and if they dy'd under their Sufferings they wou'd be rewarded with the Crown of Martyrdom: In short, according to the *Turkish* Doctrine, they might depend upon Glory in this World or Paradise in the next. And thus the Courage of the *Parisians* was buoy'd up by their Leaders, till the Duke of *Parma*, the *Spanish* General, came from the *Netherlands* with an Army of Veterans to their Relief, who being join'd by the Duke of *Guise*, the Army of the Leaguers was much superior to that of the Royalists, and his Majesty found himself under a Necessity of raising the Siege; after which he divided his Forces, sending Detachments into the several Provinces to support his Interests, and only kept a flying Army about his Person, to march wherever his Presence shou'd be most necessary and harraßs the Enemy. The Duke of *Parma*, having introduc'd a sufficient quantity of Provisions into *Paris*, and taken some Towns upon the *Seine* which open'd their Communi-

The D.
of *Parma*
relieves
Paris.

cation

cation with the neighbouring Country, re-
turn'd to *Flanders*, leaving a large Detachment
of his Forces with the Duke of *Guise* and the
Leaguers.

While the two principal Armies were em-
ploy'd in the attacking or relieving *Paris*, the
Civil War was carried on with great Fury in
other Parts of the Kingdom : The Royalists
had generally the Advantage in *Maine*, where
several bloody Engagements happen'd: On
the other Hand, the Duke of *Mercoer*, one of
the Heads of the League, having married a
Lady whom he pretended to be a Descendant
of the antient Dukes of *Britany*, attempted to
make himself Sovereign of that Province in
her Right, and being assisted in his Pretensions
by the *Spaniards*, the Leaguers became much
superior to the King's Forces there. At the
other End of the Kingdom the Duke of *Savoy*
made himself Master of great part of *Provence*,
and attempted the Conquest of *Dauphiny*, but
was defeated in several Engagements by
Lesdiguières the King's General. The Duke
at first only assisted the Leaguers, but having
got Footing in *France*, claim'd the Sovereignty
of what he possess'd himself of. So that there
were three Armies in this part of the King-
dom in as many different Interests, and con-
sequently, the Inhabitants miserably harraßs'd
amongst them.

About this time died the Cardinal *de Bourbon*,
whom the Leaguers had acknowledg'd for
their King by the Name of *Charles* the Tenth,
and notwithstanding the Duke of *Mayenne*
deriv'd his Authority from this pretended
Prince, his Death made no Alteration in their
Affairs, the Duke of *Mayenne* continued to
exercise Sovereign Authority over his Party as

The
Cardinal
de Bourbon
dies.

1591.

before. The same Year died Pope *Sixtus V.* who was succeeded by *Urban* the Seventh, but this Pontiff not living above thirteen Days, *Gregory* the Fourteenth was advanced to the Papal Chair, a Person entirely devoted to the *Spanish* Interest and the League: He sent them Forces and Money, excommunicated the King and all that adher'd to him, depriv'd him of his Dominions, as far as lay in his Power, and absolv'd his Subjects from their Allegiance. These violent Proceedings of his Holiness gave the Royalists some Disturbance, but the Divisions among the Leaguers made them an ample amends: The Council of Sixteen, after the Siege of *Paris* and the Absence of the Duke of *Mayenne*, had regain'd their former Authority and Influence, and were become so arbitrary, that they hang'd up the first President of the Parliament and two other Members of that Body without bringing them to a Trial; which so terrified the principal Citizens, who began to look upon their Lives as very precarious under such a Tyranny, that they sent to the Duke of *Mayenne* to march to their Relief. The Sixteen did design to have opposed his Entrance into *Paris*, but he was so expeditious, that he arriv'd before they had taken their Measures to prevent it, and having call'd an Assembly in the *Hotel de Ville*, and heard the Complaints of the Citizens on this Head, he caus'd four or five of the Principal Members of the Council of Sixteen to be apprehended that Night, and hang'd them in the Hall of the *Louvre*; some others who had been equally criminal escap'd out of Town: And tho' the Duke establish'd his Authority for the present by this Act of Justice, the greatest Advantage

accrued

accrued to the Royalists, who gathered Strength by these Misunderstandings among the Leaguers.

In the mean time both Parties having call'd in foreign Troops to their Assistance, the Pope's Nephew, the Duke of *Monte Marciano*, march'd from *Italy* at the Head of ten thousand *Italians* and *Swiss* to join the Leaguers. The Queen of *England* on the other hand sent the King a Supply of Money, Ammunition and six thousand Men, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany* furnish'd him with another Body of Troops; whereupon his Majesty laid Siege to *Rouen*, but was oblig'd to raise it by the Duke of *Parma*, who again march'd into *France* at the Head of a powerful Army of *Spaniards* and *Walloons* on this Occasion. The King's Forces under the Command of *Lefdiguieres* in *Dauphine* and *Provence* had much better Success, driving the Duke of *Savoy* out of those Provinces, and carrying the War into his own Country.

Both Parties call in foreign Forces.

1592.

The King forc'd to raise the Siege of *Rouen*.

The Year 1593 was more memorable for the meeting of the States at *Paris* than for Military Exploits. The King of *Spain* had oblig'd the Duke of *Guise* to assemble them (at least such of them as were not in his Majesty's Interest) in order to chuse a Sovereign, or rather to confirm one of his Nomination; for he insisted that the Person whom the Infanta of *Spain* married should be their Monarch, and afterwards let them know that he design'd the Archduke *Albert* for her Husband: but most of the Chiefs of the League oppos'd him. The King so far acknowledg'd this Assembly of the States, (though no such Body could be legally conven'd without his Summons) that he permitted the Catholicks of his Party to invite

1593.

The King
declares
himself
a Roman
Catholick

invite those at *Paris* to a Conference upon the Affairs of Religion and the State, which being agreed on accordingly, the Commissioners on both sides met at *Surenne*, a Village about a League and half from *Paris*; and the King to facilitate matters, thought fit about this time to declare himself a Catholick, at which the Protestants being alarm'd, he gave them a Promise under his Hand, that whatever the Necessity of his Affairs might oblige him to, they shou'd be secur'd in the Profession of their Religion and Liberties pursuant to former Edicts. A Truce was soon after concluded between the Royalists and the Leaguers, and the King made his Abjuration of the Protestant Religion openly in the Abbey of St. *Denis*, on the twenty-fifth of *July* 1593, of which he sent Advice to all the Parliaments in the Kingdom. He also sent an Ambassador to the Pope, to desire Absolution, and to be reconciled to the Church. His Holiness was extremely pleas'd with the News of his Conversion, but refus'd to give the Ambassador Audience for fear of incurring the Displeasure of the *Spaniard*.

Where-
upon ma-
ny Towns
declare
for him.

1594.

The King's declaring himself a Catholick had a mighty Effect on the People in general, and the Cities of *Meaux*, *Lyons*, *Orleans*, *Bourges*, and many others, soon after surrender'd to him; upon which Success the King was Crown'd or Consecrated, in the *French* Phrase, at *Chartres*, on the twenty-seventh of *February* 1594; and instead of the Holy Oil of *Rheims*, which was then in Possession of the Leaguers, they made use of that which is kept in the Convent of *Marmoutier*, and suppos'd to confer equal Blessings on the Sovereign. Soon after this Solemnity, the Gentlemen of the other Party

deserted

deserted over to him in Troops, and all the
great Towns seem'd ready to declare for him.
The Duke of *Guise* observing the like Inclina-
tions in the People of *Paris*, thought it no
longer safe to reside amongst them, and there-
fore retir'd from thence with his Family to
prevent his being deliver'd up to his Enemies ;
but before he left the Town, he procur'd a
Promise from the Count *de Brissac* the Gover-
nor, to have a watchful Eye over the Royal-
ists, and do all that was in his Power to defend
the place against them. *Brissac* notwithstand-
ing observing that the Kingdom was generally
dispos'd to submit to his Majesty, and that it
would not be in his Power long to hinder the
Revolt of the City, agreed with the Commis-
sioners appointed to treat with him to deliver
it up into the King's Hands, which was
effected on the twenty-second of *March*, with
some little Resistance from the *Spanish* Forces
who were in Garrison here, of whom there
were about three or four score kill'd, the rest
were permitted to return to their own Coun-
try. *Villars*, Governor of *Rouen*, follow'd the
Example of *Brissac*, and surrender'd that City
to his Majesty, making advantageous Terms
for himself, as the Governors of the rest of the
great Cities had done who were so wise as to
submit in time. The great Men in such Revo-
lutions as these generally have Foresight enough
to make their own Fortunes, whatever be-
comes of the Cause or the People they have
concluded. The young Duke of *Guise* came to
an Accomodation with his Majesty the same
Year. There were some Desperado's how-
ever left among the Malecontents, who could
never patiently submit to a Prince whom they
were perswaded was still a Heretick in his
Heart,

Paris deli-
vered up
to the K.
by *Brissac*
the Go-
vernor.

An Af-
fassin at-
tempts to
murder
the King.

Heart, and whom they had been taught it would be meritorious to destroy. One of these having got into the Presence-Chamber while his Majesty was surrounded by the Lords of the Court, made his way through them, and stabb'd his Majesty in the Mouth with a Knife, and had he not stoop'd forward at that very instant to salute a Nobleman, the Knife had been in his Breast; but the greatest Damage he receiv'd by the Blow, as it happen'd, was the Loss of one of his Teeth. The Assassin was a Draper's Son of *Paris*, who being examin'd concerning the Fact, confess'd that he had receiv'd his Education among the *Jesuits*; from whence and other Circumstances, it was concluded he had been encourag'd to commit this villainous Attempt by that Order; at which the King's Friends were so exasperated, that they procur'd an Edict for banishing them the Kingdom. One, of whom they had the greatest Suspicion, was put to Death, and others were imprison'd, without ever having been heard in their Defence, if we may believe their Friend *Daniel*.

1595.

The King receiving very little hurt by the Blow the Assassin gave him, soon after took the Field in order to reduce the Duke of *Mayenne*, who was still at the Head of an Army in the Province of *Burgundy*, of which he was Governor; and the Duke declining to come to an Engagement, most of the Towns revolted to his Majesty. The King afterwards march'd into *Provence*, where the Leaguers were still in Arms, and met with the like Success. The Pope apprehending that the whole Kingdom was upon the point of submitting to his Majesty, thought fit to send him his Bull of Absolution, which was publish'd with great

great Solemnity, and the King from that time esteem'd a true Son of the Church.

In the mean time the King's Arms were unsuccessful in the *Netherlands*; the *Spaniards* made themselves Masters of *Cambray*, *Dourlens* and several other Fortresses; and the Duke of *Mercoer* still maintain'd himself in *Britany*, against the utmost Efforts of the Royalists. On the other hand, a Peace was concluded this Year between the King and the Duke of *Lorraine*, whereby *France* was deliver'd from the Miseries of War on that side. The Protestants cou'd not conceal their Uneasiness, however, at the Partiality that was shewn the Catholics, and what made them more so was his Majesty's taking the young Prince of *Conde* out of their Hands, who was the presumptive Heir of the Crown, in order to breed him up a Papist; but this, it seems, was one of the Conditions on which the Church of *Rome* was reconcil'd to him, and granted him Absolution.

The Year 1596 was remarkable for the Submission of the Duke of *Mayenne*, the Duke of *Joyeuse*, the Duke of *Nemours* and several other great Men, to whom the King was pleas'd to grant very advantageous Conditions, in order to restore Peace to his Dominions. He seems to have been govern'd by the same Principle the Court of *England* was at the Restoration, of forgiving and preferring his Enemies, while his Friends, many of them, were left in a starving Condition. It was thought sufficient for the Protestants, who had run all Hazards for him, and supported him in the most calamitous Circumstances with their Lives and Estates, that they were permitted to enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion;

1596.

The D. of
Mayenne
and other
Chiefs
submit.

Religion, and that but for a little time. That very Houle of *Bourbon*, which they rais'd to the Grandeur we see it at this Day, in a few Years ungratefully destroy'd that People which had advanc'd them to the Throne, and lavishly squander'd away their Possessions upon those Men that had been the most obstinate Rebels to their Family. From this, and many other Instances of the like Nature, methinks Men wou'd do well to consider before they engage in the Quarrel of any Prince upon Earth, and if they do it out of Principle rather than Affection or Interest, let them expect no other Reward than what usually attends on such uncommon Virtue. But to proceed: The City of *Marseilles*, which had, during the Civil War, set up for an independant State under the Protection of the King of *Spain*, and had a *Spanish* Garrison in it, was about this time reduc'd to the King's Obedience by the Conduct of the Duke of *Guise*, who kept a Correspondence with some of the leading Citizens; whereupon the Duke of *Espernon*, who was at the Head of a Body of Malecontents in that Part of *France*, was induc'd to lay down his Arms, and was receiv'd into Favour, notwithstanding he had continued long obstinate to all the Offers of Peace the King had made him.

The *Spaniards* were still superior to the *French* on the side of the *Netherlands* and *Picardy*, and took from them this Campaign the Towns of *Calais* and *Ardres*, which occasion'd an offensive and defensive Alliance between *France*, *England* and *Holland* against *Spain*. The King's ill Success in *Picardy* is charg'd upon the Obstinacy of the *Hugonots* (by their Enemies) who refus'd to assist him in that War; but admit

ting this to be true, they seem to have had sufficient Reason for their Discontents ; they found themselves under great Discouragements, while those who had been the greatest Enemies to the Crown, were possess'd of the most considerable Employments in the State : But from what Occasion soever the King's ill Success proceeded, the *Spaniards* remain'd Masters of the Field in the Year 1597, and took *Amiens* the Capital of *Picardy*, tho' 'tis true, the King had the good Fortune to retake it the same Campaign ; and about this time *Lesdiguières* obtain'd a Victory over the Duke of *Savoy*, who still refus'd to hearken to Proposals of Peace.

1597.

The following Year the King march'd at the Head of his Army into *Britany*, and reduc'd that Province to his Obedience, obliging the Duke of *Mercoeur*, who had commanded the Forces of the League, and made some Pretensions to that Dutchy in his Wife's Right, to surrender it to him in Form ; whereupon the King was pleas'd to marry *César*, one of his illegitimate Sons, to the Duke's only Daughter, and give him the Government of that Province. By the Submission of *Mercoeur* the League was entirely destroy'd, and while the King remain'd at *Nantz* the Capital of *Britany*, to satisfy the *Hugonots* in some measure, he pass'd that famous irrevocable Edict, as the *French* Protestants term it, call'd
THE EDITION OF NANTS,
whereby they were secur'd in the free Exercise of their Religion in all Parts of the Kingdom except *Paris* and the Neighbourhood of it.

1598.

The Edict
of Nantz
pass'd.

This Year also a Peace was concluded at *Vervins* in *Picardy* between *France* and *Spain*, whereby the *Spaniards* restor'd *Calais*, *Ardres* and the rest of the Towns they had taken on the Frontiers of *France*, and *Spain* was confirm'd in the Possession of the County of *Charolois* in *Burgundy*. The Duke of *Savoy* thought it time also to conclude a Truce now *France* had no other Enemy, and was content to relinquish all the Conquests he had made during the Civil War in *Provence* and *Dauphine*; whereby *Harry* the Fourth became entire Master of all the *French* Dominions.

1599.

The King was now at leisure to indulge his Pleasures, especially with the Ladies; and indeed he was never without a Variety of Mistresses, even in his most calamitous Circumstances. This seems to be a Foible which most of his Predecessors were guilty of, but he proceeded farther, and solicited the Court of *Rome* for a Dissolution of his Marriage with Queen *Margaret*, Sister to King *Henry* the Third, with whom he had liv'd for many Years, under Pretence she was forc'd to marry him by her Brother *Charles* the Ninth, and as she was prevail'd upon to give her Consent to it, the Pope made no scruple to declare the Marriage null; whereupon the King found himself at liberty to look out for another, by whom he might have Issue, for he despair'd of having any by this. The Dutches of *Beaufort*, his Mistress, dying about the same time, he drew up with *Madam D'Entragues*, and proceeded so far, as to give her a Promise of Marriage under his Hand, which created him very great Difficulties afterwards, for he married *Mary* of *Medicis*, Daughter of *Francis* late Duke of *Tuscany*, and Niece

1600.

ded at to *Ferdinand* the reigning Duke, the following
 Spain, Year, and having Children by her, their
 Ardres Legitimacy was disputed by some on account
 ken on of the Precontract with *Madam d'Eutragues*.
 as con- In the mean time the Truce with the Duke of
 nty of Savoy was turn'd into a Peace, whereby he
 Savoy yielded *Bresse*, comprehending *Bugey* and *le val*
 ce now *Romey* to the King in exchange for the Mar-
 content quisate of *Saluces*, which he retain'd; where-
 d made by France was entirely freed from foreign as
 uphine; well as civil Wars, with which she had been
 entire afflicted for many Years.

A Dauphin being born on the twenty-seventh
 of September 1601, it occasion'd a great deal of A Dau-
 Joy in the French Court, which was however phin born
 interrupted by a Conspiracy form'd by the Marshal
 Marquiss of *Biron*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, the *Biron's*
 Count de *Auvergne*, and several others of the Conspi-
 of, but racy.
 Court prime Nobility, who had laid a Scheme to
 marriage erect the great Governments of France into so
 Henry many Principalities, which were to be no
 r many further dependent on the King, than the
 o marry Princes of the Empire are on the Emperor.
 and as And 'tis said, they had agreed to depose the
 sent to present King, and set the Count de *Soissons*, a
 are the Prince of the Blood, upon the Throne: And
 found they were to have been supported in this En-
 nother, terprize by the King of Spain and the Duke of
 spair'd Savoy.

La Fin, a Confident of Marshal *Biron*, disco-
 ver'd the whole matter to the King; where-
 upon his Majesty sent for the Marshal to Court,
 and told him that if he wou'd make a full
 Confession, it should cost him nothing but the
 Repentance of his Faults: but he having been
 assured by *La Fin* that there was no Evidence
 against him, answer'd in a haughty manner,
 that he had no need of a Pardon for he had
 committed

1602.

He is
executed.

committed no Fault. The King, 'tis said, having no mind to destroy him, spoke to him in the same manner the next Day, after he had given him time to consider of it, but cou'd obtain no other Answer; whereupon he order'd him to Prison, where he was put to the Torture, and afterwards condemn'd and executed. The King pardon'd the Count de *Auvergne*, as 'tis said he design'd to have done the Duke of *Bouillon*; but he not caring to venture it, fled first to *Geneva*, and afterwards to the Court of the Elector Palatine, for he was a Protestant. The Crime must certainly have been very great, and the Evidence exceeding plain, or the King cou'd never have taken away the Life of *Biron*, a Man who had done him more Service than any Person in the Kingdom; he had commanded his Armies from first to last, and generally been successful. But great Men frequently take Disgust unaccountably; and Princes as often take an Occasion to ruin their Officers and Ministers who have been most serviceable to them either through Pique, or an Apprehension that they assume too much, when in reality they have been guilty of no more than common Failings. But however the Fact was, 'tis impossible to read this piece of History, without being sensibly griev'd to see the Man who had the greatest share in fixing his Prince upon the Throne, and had accomplish'd it by innumerable Hazards and Hardships, ruin'd in a Moment by that very Prince, and those who were his Majesty's greatest Enemies, loaded with all the Favours and Honours he cou'd bestow upon them.

The

1603.

The Year 1603 was most remarkable for the Restoration of the *Jesuits* in *France*, and the Death of the Queen of *England*, who was succeeded by *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and First of *England*, by Virtue of an Instrument (if we may credit the *French* Historians) in which Queen *Elizabeth* appointed him her Successor: But this Instrument I believe no *Englishman* ever saw. The *French* and *Dutch* renew'd their Alliances with *England* on this occasion, in order to put themselves in a Condition to oppose the Power of *Spain*, which was then look'd upon to be as exorbitant and dangerous as that of *France* prov'd afterwards.

Not long after another Conspiracy was discover'd against his Majesty, in which the *Spaniards* had, 'tis said, engag'd the King's Mistress *Madam d'Eutragues* and her Father, with the Count *d'Auvergne* and others; but he pardon'd them all, which gave some People occasion to suspect it to be a sham Plot, especially since the King contented himself with only taking away the written Instrument from *Monsieur d'Eutragues* which he had given him, containing a Promise to marry his Daughter, and which the *Spaniards* gave out they would one Day make use of against the Issue he had by his Queen. But there were another Set of Conspirators who had agreed to deliver up *Guienne* and *Gascony* to the King of *Spain*, who did not experience so much Mercy, for he order'd ten of the principal of them to be beheaded. The Baron *de Mairargues* also, one of the most considerable Lords in *Provence*, was the next Year beheaded for treating with the *Spaniards* to deliver up *Marseille* to them. Thus was this Prince exercis'd with continual Plots

1604.
Several
Conspira-
cies a-
gainst
the Go-
vernment

1609. Plots after the Conclusion of the Civil War till the Year 1604 : from that time to the end of this Reign the Nation seems to have enjoy'd perfect Tranquility ; unless it be that in 1609 the King enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Dutch*, to prevent the Archduke *Albert's* possessing himself of the Dutchies of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*. But his Majesty pursu'd his amorous Intrigues to the last Moment of his Life. The Prince of *Conde* was so alarm'd at the Complaisance he shew'd his Spouse, Daughter to the Constable *Montmerency*, that he carried her away with him on a sudden to the *Low Countries*, and afterwards to *Milan*, and did not think fit to return into *France* till after the King's Death.

1610.
The K. assassinated.

The latter end of this Year and part of the next was taken up with raising a numerous Army, suppos'd to be design'd against the House of *Austria* ; but the Villain *Ravaillac*, a Monk, put an end to this and all other Designs of this great King, by stabbing him to the Heart in his Coach in the Streets of *Paris*, on the fourteenth of *May* 1610. The Assassin was taken with the Knife in his Hand, and afterwards put to the Torture in order to compel him to discover his Accomplices ; but his Confession was part of it made a Secret : some charge the *Spaniards*, and even the Queen with being concern'd in it, to which they tell us she was provok'd by his being false to her Bed : But this seems to be mere Conjecture. It is much more probable to be done by this enthusiastical Friar on the score of Religion, to which he apprehended the King an Enemy, for it is observ'd that he had escap'd from above fifty Conspiracies, most of them contrived by Priests or Votaries of Popery, who question'd

War till the end of his life, and enjoy'd the thirty-eighth of his Reign, as King of Navarre; and in the twenty-first Year after his Accession to the Throne of France.

He had no Children by Queen *Margaret*, His Issue. Sister of *Henry* the Third; but by his second Wife *Mary de Medicis* he had three Sons, viz. *Lewis* the Thirteenth, who succeeded him; the Duke of *Orleans* his second Son, who died at four Years of Age; and *Gaston-John-Baptist*, Duke of *Anjou*, afterwards Duke of *Orleans*, who surviv'd him many Years. He had also three Daughters, namely, *Elizabeth*, married to the Prince of *Spain*, afterwards *Philip* the Fourth; *Christina*, married to *Victor-Amadeus*, afterwards Duke of *Savoy*; and *Henrietta*, married to *Charles* the First, King of *England*. He had besides these natural Children in abundance by his several Mistresses.

Lewis the Thirteenth was almost nine Years of Age at the Death of his Father, being born on the 27th of *September*, 1601. The Queen Dowager his Mother was advis'd by her Friends in the Ministry to dry up her Tears as soon as possible, and procure herself to be declar'd Regent during the Minority of her Son in the Absence of the Princes of the Blood. The Dukes of *Guise* and *Espernon*, Noblemen of an unbounded Ambition, thought that in doing the Queen so singular a piece of Service, as she was a Stranger, and unacquainted with the Art of Government, they shou'd thereby entirely engross the Administration of Affairs in their own Hands. Having assembled therefore the Prevost of the Merchants, the Sheriffs, and other Magistrates of *Paris*, they harangu'd them in such

Lewis XIII
1610.

The Q.
Mother
declar'd
Regent.

a manner, that they gave their Consents to the Queens being declar'd Regent, and the Parliament follow'd their Example; though there were some in the Assembly who lamented the Misfortune of their Country, in being left at the Discretion of an *Italian*, a profuse and unexperienc'd Regent, who wou'd probably be influenc'd by *Galigai* and *Conchini* her Husband, the Queens chief Confidants, and Creatures of the Court of *Spain*, and who were suspected of suborning *Ravaillac* to assassinate his late Majesty.

The Count *de Soissons*, second Prince of the Blood, was extremely surpriz'd to find the Regency dispos'd of on his Arrival at *Paris*; but the Queen gave him the Government of *Normandy* to pacify him. The Dukes of *Guise* and *Espemon*, who had been so serviceable at this juncture, she rewarded according to their respective Inclinations and Circumstances. To *Guise*, who wanted Money to pay his Debts, she gave the most of any thing in the World, she gave two hundred thousand Crowns. The haughty *Espemon* she loaded with Honours, order'd him an Apartment in the *Louvre*, and that the Secretaries of State shou'd communicate all their Dispatches to him.

The
Tryal of
Ravaillac.

In the mean time the Parliament were taken up with the Trial of *Ravaillac*. By the Interrogatories and Depositions that are left upon Record, it appears that he was an Enthusiast, and apprehending that the King was about to make War on the Pope, and encourag'd the *Hugonots*, he took up the Resolution of killing him. He had imbib'd an Opinion, that it was lawful for any private Man to kill his Prince if he was an Enemy to his Holiness. He told the Judges that to make War against

the Pope was to make War against God, because the Pope was God and God was the Pope. He constantly averr'd to his last Breath, that no Man, neither *French* or Foreigner, had incited him to commit this Murder. He was broke alive upon the Wheel on the 27th of May, in pursuance of his Sentence. The same Day the Parliament order'd the Faculty of *Paris* to revive their Censure against those who teach, that a private Subject may and ought to destroy Tyrants by all the ways they can, and that such an Action is not contrary to the Oath of Allegiance the Subject takes. And however clear the *Jesuits* may be of the late King's Murder, the Preachers at *Paris* weigh'd severely against them at the time of his Funeral.

It was propos'd at the beginning of this Reign to proceed in the double Match with *Spain*, that had been concerted in the time of *Henry IV*, namely, of the present King with the Infanta, and of the Prince of *Spain* with the eldest Daughter of *France*. The Queen being prepossess'd by the *Italians* about her, whom the Court of *Spain* had corrupted, laid down as a Maxim that the Establishment of her Authority depended on a good Understanding with the Pope and King of *Spain*. The Court of *Rome* did not doubt to find their account in this double Alliance, as believing the most effectual way to ruin the Protestants: As the one destroy'd them in *Germany* and the *Low Countries*, they projected that the other might extirpate the *Hugonots* in *France*, if they were united in their Councils. The Queen however in order to keep all quiet in the beginning of her Administration, thought fit to issue a Proclamation confirming the Edict

The Match with *Spain* propos'd.

of *Nantz*, and to relinquish or lessen several of the Taxes which were grievous to the Subject, particularly that of Salt was abated a fourth part.

While things were in this Situation, the Prince of *Conde* return'd to Court from *Milan*, whither he had retir'd with his Wife to prevent the late King's abusing his Bed. The *Spaniards* upon the Death of *Harry* the Fourth wou'd have perswaded him to take the Title of King, insinuating that the Marriage of his late Majesty with *Mary* of *Medicis* was void, on account of his former Marriage with the Princess *Margaret*, who was then living, and his Contract with *Madam d'Eutragues*, and consequently his Issue by *Mary* were illegitimate: But the Prince slighted the Proposal, choosing to rest satisfied with his present Circumstances rather than hazard all in the uncertain pursuit of a Crown. He shew'd the same Moderation or Meanness of Spirit, as some were pleased to term it, on his Arrival at *Paris*; when the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Sully*, and other Chiefs of the Protestants, offer'd to assist him in obtaining the Regency, and removing his Enemies from about the King, he suffer'd the Queen quietly to enjoy the Regency he found her possess'd of. It is observed of him, that his Avarice much exceeded his Ambition. He continu'd however for some time Head of a Party, in opposition to Count *Soissons*, *Conchini*, now Marquiss d'*Ancre*, the Queens Favourite, playing one of these Princes against the other, that they might not be at leisure to animadvert on his Conduct, and made himself the Umpire of their Differences: however, he seem'd to court the Favour of the Prince of *Conde* most.

Conchini
sets the
Princes of
the Blood
at variance

The

The Emperor, upon the Death of the last Duke of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, designing to annex those Countries to his hereditary Dominions, had sent the Archduke *Leopold* to take Possession of them, under pretence of sequestering them till the several Claimants shou'd have made out their respective Titles. He possess'd himself accordingly of the strong City of *Juliers*, but the *French* and *Dutch*, whose Interest it was to prevent the aggrandizing of the House of *Austria*, laid Siege to *Juliers*, and took it, delivering it into the Hands of the Elector of *Brandenbourg* and Duke of *Newburgh*, who pretended to it by virtue of their having married two of the Daughters of that House: And thus these Countries became involv'd in the War of the *Netherlands*, to which they lie contiguous. But to return to the *French* Court. The Favourite *Conchini* took care to keep the principal Nobility at constant variance, to prevent their intermeddling too much in the Administration; however, both *Conde* and *Soissons* united in getting the Duke of *Sully* disgrac'd, and Marshal *de Bouillon*, tho' a Protestant, contributed all he was able to have that great Man remov'd from his Posts of Superintendant of the Finances, &c. It was the Misunderstandings between these Protestant Lords that at length prov'd their Ruin. Their Numbers and their Quality were so considerable, that they cou'd never have been depress'd if they had not by their unseasonable Quarrels done their Enemies Work for them.

The Protestants had been allow'd their general Assemblies in the Reign of *Henry* the Fourth, where they us'd to draw up Representations of their Grievances, and elect six Deputies

The *French* and *Dutch* take the City of *Juliers*.

1611.

An Assembly of the Protestants at *Saumur*.

Deputies, of whom the King chose two: These were constantly to attend the Court, and take care that nothing pass'd to the Disadvantage of their Religion. Such an Assembly was permitted to meet this Year at *Saumur* by the Regency, at which the Dukes of *Sulli*, *Rohan*, *Trimouille*, *Soubize*, *Chailon*, *la Force* and the Marshal *Bouillon* were present, the last of which Noblemen expected to have been chosen President, but being oppos'd by the rest, the Choice fell upon the celebrated *du Plessis Mornay*, at which *Bouillon* was so disgusted, that he is said to have done the Protestants many ill Offices at Court afterwards. This Gentleman seems to have been more concern'd to render himself the Head of a Party, than to promote the Interests of the Religion he profess'd. The general Assembly were so sensible of the ill Consequence of these Divisions between their Chiefs, that they propos'd a Reconciliation, and in outward Appearance effected it between *Sulli* and *Bouillon*, who seem'd to be most exasperated against each other; but it did not prove sincere, at least on *Bouillon's* Part. This Assembly not receiving any satisfactory Answer to the Representations they made of their Grievances, renew'd their usual Oath, namely, *That they wou'd die in Defence of their Faith, and never depart from their Allegiance due to the King*; with which they were afterwards reproach'd, as entering into a seditious Engagement.

1612.

In the Year 1612, the double Marriage between *France* and *Spain* was agreed on. The Queen squander'd away incredible Sums at the Rejoicings that were made on this Occasion, while the Protestants were under the

the utmost Consternation, believing their Ruin to be chiefly intended by this Union of the two Crowns. They endeavour'd therefore again to reconcile the Lords of their Communion, and procur'd a Promise from them to forget their former Quarrels, and to assist each other as far as Religion and their Allegiance to their Prince wou'd allow, and to do nothing that might prejudice the Union and Uniformity of the Doctrine and Discipline establish'd in the Reformed Churches in France. The Dukes of Rohan and Sulli, the Marshals Bouillon and Lesdiguières, Chatillon, Soubize, la Force and du Plessis Mornay sign'd this Agreement, and sent it to the Governors of the Towns given them for their Security, and to the Gentlemen of distinction of their Persuasion in the several Provinces; who all subscrib'd this Engagement.

The National Assembly held in the Year 1610, having been dissolv'd before they cou'd obtain any Redress of their Grievances from the Court, Provincial Assemblies were afterwards held without a License from the Court, and two Deputies from each of the eight Provinces were sent to Paris, to solicit for a favourable Answer to the Representation that had been made by the last National Assembly; but the Court refus'd to give them Audience, under Pretence that these Provincial Assemblies were illegal, not having been conven'd by the King's Authority; and did not only prohibit the holding such Assemblies for the future, but also National Synods, where any other Persons besides their Preachers and Elders shou'd be present, or any thing treated of but what concern'd the Doctrine and Discipline of the Reformed Churches

The Protestants prepare for their Defence on the Conclusion of the double Match with Spain

Provincial Assemblies held by the Protestants prohibited.

Churches of *France*; and the general Assemblies held since that of *Saumur* were declar'd unlawful. However, that those who had been at them might not be under any uneasiness, the King declar'd, that as he did not believe they had any ill Design in attending those Assemblies, he wou'd grant them a Pardon for it. The Protestants were more offended than pleas'd with this Pardon: They insisted they had committed no Crime; and at a National Synod that was held this Year at *Privas*, they made a solemn Protestation, that the Provincial Assemblies had not been held illegally, and that the Reformed look'd on the Pardon his Majesty had granted them as a Disgrace, that they shou'd never make use of it, and wou'd disown such Protestants as did. And the Regency not caring to irritate the *Hugonots* at this time, publish'd another Declaration in softer Terms, which was call'd an Explanation of the former.

1614. The Prince of *Conde* finding himself slighted at Court, and that *Conchini* had the Administration solely in his Hands, retir'd in disgust, and was follow'd by the Dukes of *Nevers*, *Mayenne*, *Vendosme*, *Longueville*, &c. The Reasons they gave for their Discontents were the wasting of the publick Revenues, the bestowing the highest Dignities on Foreigners and worthless Persons, the arbitrary Power of the Ministry, the little Regard had to the Princes of the Blood and Peers of the Kingdom, the controlling the Parliaments in the Exercise of their Jurisdiction, the excessive Price demand'd for Offices of Judicature, the Destruction of the Nobility and Oppression of the People and the precipitate Conclusion of the King's Marriage before his coming of Age. To these Complaints,

The P. of
Conde, &c.
cabal a-
gainst the
Court.

Complaints, which were most of them just, were added some Demands, such as the calling a Convention of the Estates within three Months, the suspending the King's Marriage and his Sister's, and the employing Men of Integrity about the King's Person.

The Queen, in answer to this Declaration, publish'd a Manifesto, wherein she observes, that the Covetousness of the Prince of Conde and the other great Lords, had forc'd her to consume a great part of the Treasure left by the late King; that they continually form'd Cabals and fomented Insurrections, which oblig'd her to distribute Money amongst them to keep them quiet; that the Irresolution and Softness of the Prince made him the Tool of all the Factionous at Court; that she was ready to assemble the States of the Kingdom, and redress whatever was amiss; and in the Conclusion, offer'd the Malecontents Terms of Accommodation. She did not neglect, however, to raise a Body of Troops and strengthen herself, in order to give her Commissioners the greater Weight at the Treaty which was agreed on. The Prince of Conde, on the other hand, assembled his Friends, and invited the Protestants to join him; but they had no great Opinion of his Conduct, and generally excus'd themselves. At length a Peace was concluded between the Court and the Prince of Conde; some of the Malecontents accepted Money and others Preferments: As to the Publick Good, which was the Pretence of the Insurrection, that was neglected as usual. The Convention of the Estates, which was the only thing of moment this Treaty produc'd, was so modell'd and manag'd by the Ministry, that they effected little of any

An Accommodation between the Court and the Prince.

Richlieu
first ap-
pears up-
on the
Stage.

moment. It was in this Assembly that the famous *Richelieu*, Bishop of *Lucon*, first appear'd upon the Stage, being one of the Representatives of the Clergy, and had a Commission to present a Paper to the King on the breaking up of the States, at the Delivery whereof he made a Speech of an Hour long, and was heard with great Attention.

1615.
The Par-
liament
oppose
the arbi-
trary Mea-
sures of
the Court.

The People remain'd still generally discontented that none of their Grievances were redress'd in the Assembly of the States, and murmur'd that the Marshal *d'Ancre* had still the Disposal of every thing. The Parliament of *Paris* also publish'd an Arret, wherein they invited the great Men, and all that were well affected to their Country, to join them in maintaining the Liberties of the Nation. Whereupon the Council issued a Declaration in the King's Name, making the said Arret of Parliament void, and prohibiting all People under severe Penalties to intermeddle with Affairs of State. The Parliament not then us'd to such haughty Treatment, presented a Remonstrance to the King, wherein they took a great deal of Freedom, and advis'd him not to make use of absolute Commands in the first Year of his Majority; (for he was now in his fourteenth Year). The Prince of *Conde*, Marshal *Bouillon*, and the rest of the Malecontents also had again recourse to Arms, but laid them down soon after upon advantageous Conditions offer'd them by the Court, leaving the Protestants who were their principal Support to shift for themselves. This Peace was call'd the Treaty of *Loudun*, from its having been concluded there.

The

The Court still remain'd in great Confusion, and several Removes were made of the great Officers. Bishop *Richlieu* took this Opportunity of soliciting the Marshal *d'Ancre* for some Preferment, and having contracted a Friendship with one of his Creatures, procur'd the place of Grand Almoner to the Queen-Consort *Anne of Austria*. The Marshal finding him to be a Man of Parts, consulted him on the most important Affairs, and at length advanc'd him to the degree of a Privy Counsellor and Secretary of State. And it was by his Advice, 'tis said, that he resolv'd to seize the Prince of *Conde*, and all the disaffected Lords; in pursuance of which the Prince was actually made Prisoner, and confin'd in the Castle of *Vincennes*; but the rest had notice of the Design against them, and made their Escape.

1616.
Richlieu
made Secretary of State.

The P.
of *Conde*
made Prisoner.

The Marshal had still so many Enemies left, that by means of *Luines*, who us'd to attend the King in his Sports, and had some Influence on him, they gave his Majesty a Jealousy of this Minister, and procur'd an Order to take him off; though some say they were only to have apprehended him, and that the Captain of the Guards, who had a Commission to seize the Marshal, shot him under a pretence of the Resistance he met with. Thus fell *Conchini*, Marshal *d'Ancre*, a *Florentine*, after he had tyranniz'd over the *French* Nobility and Parliaments for near seven Years, and inspir'd that Court with arbitrary Views, which his Successors in the Ministry so improv'd, that before the end of this Reign the *French* were in a manner depriv'd of their Liberties.

1617.
Marshal
d'Ancre
murder'd.

Upon the Death of Marshal *d'Ancre* all his Creatures were turn'd out, particularly *Richlieu*: the old Ministers resum'd their places.

1618.
Richlieu
turn'd out

The Q.
Mother
confin'd.

Luines
Prime
Minister.

The Queen-Mother was order'd to retire to *Blois*, where she was confin'd; and *Richlieu* serving her there in Quality of Steward of her House, *Luines*, who succeeded *Conchini* in the King's Favour, being apprehensive of the busy active Genius of this Prelate, order'd him to retire to *Avignon*. In the mean time he entertain'd the King with childish Diversions, or Exercises of Devotion, to which this Prince was naturally addicted, while he govern'd the State in as despotick a manner as his Predecessor *Conchini* had done, not suffering any Person to approach his Majesty till he was acquainted with their Business.

1619.

The Year following the Queen-Mother, by the Assistance of the Duke of *Espernon*, made her Escape from *Blois*, which gave *Luines* great Uneasiness, apprehending she would one time or other ruin him by her Intrigues. *Richlieu* sending him a submissive Letter about this time, and offering to serve this Minister without Reserve, he laid hold of the Opportunity, and order'd him to attend the Queen again, and acquaint him from time to time with the Measures she was about to take, but not to let her Majesty know he had any Correspondence with the Court; and according as he discharg'd this Trust, gave him Hopes of Preferment.

Richlieu
employ'd
by *Luines*
to discover
the Q.
Mothers
Intrigues.

This Order *Richlieu* very readily obey'd, and play'd his Game so well that he was relied on by both Parties, of which he afterwards made his Advantage. The Queen particularly look'd upon him as her most faithful Servant: that he had hazarded every thing to attend her in her Distress, and therefore communicated her most important Secrets to him. A Treaty was soon after set on foot between the

the King and his Mother, and all their Differences in a manner adjusted ; but *Richlieu* dissuaded her from going to *Paris* unless she could be admitted into the Administration as formerly. In the mean time *Luines* apprehending he might want a Support if the Queen-Mother return'd, propos'd the making a Friend of the Prince of *Conde*, by restoring him to his Liberty, and accordingly procur'd it for him of the King, after he had been a Prisoner upwards of three Years : whereupon the Prince in Gratitude promis'd to support his Interests, and give him all the Assistance that lay in his Power in the Administration of the Government. *Luines* about the same time procur'd a Patent to be made a Duke and Peer of *France*.

The P. of
Conde set
at Liberty

The Queen still remaining at a distance from Court, was apply'd to by the *Hugonots* and disaffected Lords to oppose the arbitrary Proceedings of the Ministry ; and her Party at length became so numerous, that it made the prime Minister tremble : Nor was it long before they took the Field. As to the King, their Historians inform us that he was an indolent Prince, and apply'd himself to nothing. That he had neither Resolution to undertake any thing himself, or Constancy to pursue good Advice when it was given. That he wanted an able Minister possess'd of the Royal Qualities of which he was destitute ; whereupon every great Man about the Court knowing his Weakness, pretended to the Direction of Affairs, and this occasion'd those Divisions that frequently distracted the State.

The Q.
and dis-
affected
Lords
take the
Field.

While *Luines*, who was more a Sportsman than a Soldier, was confounded at the repeated Advices he receiv'd of the Strength and

1620.
The King
marches
against
them.

Numbers

Numbers of the Malecontents, the Prince of *Conde* advis'd the King to take the Field as soon as possible, and attack his Enemies before they had assembled their whole Force. He assur'd his Majesty that if this Conduct had been observ'd in those Insurrections in which he was concern'd, he must have submitted. The King it seems at this time was so wise as to follow the Prince's Advice, and giving him the Command of the Army, march'd with him in Person into *Normandy*, where the Duke of *Longueville* and the Malecontents were reported to be very strong; but they retir'd upon his Approach, and the King with very little difficulty made himself Master of *Rouen*, *Caen*, and most of the Towns in that Province. From hence he continu'd his March against the Queen, who had assembled a great Body of Troops in *Anjou*. At the same time he sent to offer her Terms of Accommodation, and a Treaty was actually set on foot between them. The King still advancing, the Queen was advis'd to send to the Dukes of *Mayenne* and *Epervon* to join her with their Forces; but *Richlieu* apprehending that if those two Noblemen were about the Queen, he should lose that Influence he had on her Majesties Affairs, and not be able to play the Game he intended, persuaded her that she was secure with the Forces she had at *Angers*, and procur'd an Order from her that those Lords shou'd remain in the Provinces where they were; and by this means ruin'd the Affairs of her Majesty and her Confederates: For the King's Troops having a great Superiority, soon after fell upon a Body of the Queens, and defeated them; which so terrified her, that though she had insisted on very extravagant

The Q. compell'd to accept a disadvantageous Peace by the Treachery of *Richlieu*.

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gant Terms before, she was now content with such as the King was pleas'd to grant. There was one secret Article however consented to in favour of *Richlieu*, which let People into the Mystery of the matter: He had made a Merit of betraying his Mistress, and thereby obtain'd a Promise from the King to procure him a Cardinal's Cap of the Pope. When People saw therefore the whole Body of Malecontents ruin'd by the Advice of this Prelate, the Queen oblig'd to return to Court, and several Princes and great Lords excluded out of the Treaty, and none of them any Gainers by it but himself, they made no doubt of his having betray'd the Queen, to whom he was so infinitely oblig'd, both before and afterwards. They were further confirm'd in this Conjecture, when they saw the Bishop's Niece married to the Son of the Duke of *Luines* the Prime Minister: But the Queen was still so far from believing him false to her, that she made a considerable Addition to his Niece's Portion.

To proceed. The Dukes of *Epernon* and *Guise*, and the rest of the Malecontents, having laid down their Arms, the Pope's Nuntio us'd all his Interest with the Duke of *Luines* to fall upon the *Hugonots*: and though this Minister seem'd to disapprove of it, yet there were so many Persons about the Court for suppressing them, that it was resolv'd about this time to strike at the whole Body. They determin'd to begin with the Province of *Bearn*, where the Protestants were most numerous: Accordingly the King march'd thither from *Poitiers*, where he then was with his Army; but meeting with no Resistance, he contented himself with ordering Mass to be

Popery
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said

said in the principal Churches of the Province, after it had been abolish'd about fifty Years.

1621.
An Insurrec-
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An Army
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A War
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testants.

The Duke of *Luines* the following Year procur'd a Patent to be Constable of *France*; and the People of *Bearn* making an Insurrection on account of their Religion, he sent the Duke of *Espernon*, who was a mortal Enemy to that Persuasion, to suppress them. He found on his Arrival that they had abandon'd all their Towns and Villages, and were fled to the Mountains: But the General ordering his Soldiers not to hurt any of them, and observing an exact Discipline, many of the People return'd to their Houses again. However, these two Attempts alarm'd the Protestants pretty much; and as their Churches at *Tours*, *Poitiers* and other places had been burnt by the Popish Mob with Impunity, they were pretty well assur'd there was a Design form'd against them to divest them of those Privileges they enjoy'd by the Edict of *Nants*.

The Protestants hereupon call'd a general Assembly to consult of their Defence: The King order'd them to break up, but they refus'd, which was interpreted an overt Act of Rebellion, and the Court determin'd to seize on those Cities and Towns which had been given them for their Security. The Protestants on the other hand had recourse to Arms, and did not fail to retaliate the Injuries they receiv'd. Towns were taken and retaken, and thus a War was on a sudden commenc'd on all sides. The first place that made any considerable Defence against the Royalists was that of *St. John de Angeli*, which held out a Siege of two Months, and then surrender'd on Condition of preserving their Religion, Lives, Liberties and Estates; but the Houses

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Houses had been in a manner destroy'd by the Besiegers, and the King raz'd their Fortifications. After this the Royalists took several other places, and being encourag'd by their Success, laid Siege to the strong Town of *Montauban*, but were forc'd to raise it after they had lain three Months before the place, and lost an incredible Number of Men; the Disgrace whereof is said to have affected the Duke of *Luines* to that degree, that it threw him into a Fever of which he died.

Luines the Prime Minister dies

The Queen-Mother was about this time re-admitted into the Council, in order to balance the Prince of *Conde*, who was thought to bear too great a Sway in it. Both of them were very zealous in prosecuting the War against the *Hugonots*, who being deserted by most of their Chiefs, had the worst of it every where. *Sully*, *Bouillon*, *Lesdiguières* and *Chatillon*, all went over to the Court: They alledg'd that their Party would be under no Government; that their general Assemblies, and even Synods of the Clergy, pretended to direct their Military Operations; and that it was impossible to hope for Success where Anarchy and Confusion reign'd. However, as great part of the Country was destroy'd by the continual Ravages of the one or the other Party, the Taxes consequently fell short, and the King was forc'd to take some extraordinary ways to raise Money, some of which appear'd so illegal and oppressive, that the Parliament of *Paris* refus'd to ratifie them, till the King coming thither in Person with the Princes of the Blood and great Officers of State, terrified them into a Compliance. In this Reign, it is observ'd, their Parliaments had but very little Authority; the Court

1622.
The Q. Mother comes into the Administration again.

The Chiefs of the *Hugonots* forsake them.

The Parliament compell'd to ratifie the Acts of the Council.

made no other use of them than to record the Acts of the King and Council.

The Civil War very bloody.

The Royalists went on successfully, taking one place after another from the *Hugonots*. The Marquis *de la Force* also, who commanded their Troops in *Guienne*, thought fit about this time to reconcile himself to the Court, receiving of the King a Marshal's Staff, and a considerable Sum of Money, in consideration of his deserting his Party, and delivering up the Town of *St. Foy*. The War yet continu'd very bloody: The Town of *Negrepelisse* particularly having been taken by the Royalists, and the Garrison afterwards overpower'd and put to the Sword by the Inhabitants, the King upon the retaking it order'd all the People in the Town and Castle to be massacred except the Women, who were nevertheless expos'd to the brutality of the Soldiers. Cruelties of this kind were exercis'd in several other places; no Wars, 'tis observ'd, being ever carried on with that Rage and Violence as those which are occasion'd by Difference in Religion: Murder and Rapine are sanctified in the Opinion of both sides by the Righteousness of the Cause.

A Peace concluded.

About this time *Lefdiguieres* was made Constable of *France*, on account of his Skill in Military Affairs, and his Complaisance to the Court in turning Papist: And the Protestants being induc'd by their ill Success to desire Peace, the Constable procur'd them a Pardon and Liberty of Conscience, which put an end to the War; though there were some of the Ministers whom nothing would satisfie but a total Extirpation of the *Hugonots*.

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Richlieu this Year receiv'd his Cardinals Cap by the Solicitations of the Queen-Mother, for which he promis'd everlasting Gratitude; tho' it is observ'd, his Gratitude and Acknowledgments lasted no longer than her Friendship was advantagious to him. She wou'd have procur'd him also a Place in the Council, but was not able to effect it till near two Years after, the Ministry had such a Jealousy of him; whereupon he still continu'd to exercise the Office of Steward of the Queens House, and made his Court to her with his usual Diligence.

Richlieu
made
Cardinal.

The Kingdom now enjoying Peace at home and abroad, nothing remarkable happen'd this Year, unless some Changes in the Ministry; Count *Schomberg* was turn'd out of his Places of Superintendant of the Finances and Grand Master of the Ordinance, and the old Chancellor *Sillery* was oblig'd to Resign. 1623.

The Year 1624 was propitious to Cardinal *Richlieu*, who, at the repeated Instances of the Queen-Mother, was admitted into the Council of State, where there being scarce any Person of great Experience or Capacity at this Time, he soon obtain'd the entire Disposal of publick Affairs. One of the first things that fell under his Management was the Match between *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, and the Princess *Henrietta* the King's Sister. The principal Articles the *French* insisted on were Liberty of Conscience for the *English* Catholics; a Church for the Princess's Retinue, who were to be all Catholics, and the Education of the Children of this Marriage in the same Religion. The two first were absolutely refus'd by the *English* Ambassadors; 1624.
Cardinal
Richlieu
admitted
into the
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of State.
Becomes
Prime
Minister.
The
Match
between
the P. of
Wales
and the
Princess
Henrietta.

and as to the last it was agreed, the Children shou'd remain in the Hands of the Princess till ten Years of Age, and that she might have the Direction of their Education in the mean time. The *French* were to pay eight hundred thousand Crowns for her Marriage Portion, one half at *London* the Evening before the Marriage, two hundred thousand Crowns a Year afterwards, and the Remainder six Months after that. Her Joynture was agreed to be sixty thousand Crowns *per Ann.* which is but a Trifle to that settled on the present Queen of *England*, tho' voluntarily granted after Marriage, without any Consideration had to the Marriage Portion.

France and Spain dispute the Possession of the Valteline.

The Affair of the *Valteline* came upon the Carpet next: The *Spaniards*, it seems, in the Reign of *Henry IV.* had built the Fort of *Fuentes* in the *Valteline*, which belongs to the *Grisons*, to preserve their Communication between *Germany* and *Italy*, that they might not be always oblig'd to ask Leave of the *Swiss* or the *Grisons* when they had Occasion to march their Troops that way. *France* and *Italy* were both alarm'd at this Step, imagining the House of *Austria* had some great Design in view; but the *Spaniards* pretended they had built this Fort only to protect the Catholick Religion in the *Valteline*, which they apprehended wou'd be extirpated by the *Grisons*, who were Sovereigns of it. This appear'd afterwards only a Sham to lull the *Italian* States asleep, the *Spaniards* proceeding to build four other Forts, in order to make themselves entirely Masters of this Valley, which is a Country about thirty Miles in length, and naturally so well defended by
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Rocks and Precipices, that whoever possesses it may, with a small Force, prevent the greatest Armies passing between *Germany* and *Italy*.

The *French* spent a great deal of time in Treaties and Negotiations to prevail with the *Spaniards* to demolish these Forts, which they often promis'd to do, but never effected. An Alliance was thereupon enter'd into between the *French*, the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*, in the Year 1623, to compel them to quit the Forts, and restore the *Grisons* to the Sovereignty of the *Valteline*. The *Spaniards* finding it wou'd be difficult to maintain their Ground, put their Forts into the Hands of the Pope, assuring his Holiness they had no other Design than the Preservation of the Catholick Religion; and by this Artifice they avoided a War, and engaged the Pope on their side. In the mean time the Passes remain'd open to their Troops, and they did not doubt the getting the Forts out of the Hands of the Pope again as soon as the Alliance above-mention'd shou'd be dissolv'd. When the Cardinal came into the Ministry, he determin'd to spend very little time in Negotiations on this Affair: The *Spaniards* and the Pope refusing to demolish the Forts, he immediately hir'd six thousand *Swiss* and *Grisons*, and sent them into the *Valteline*, under the Command of the Marquis de *Cœuvres*, to endeavour to recover the Possession of it. The Pope's Troops were so terrified at their Approach, that they abandon'd most of the Forts, and gave the Marquis an Opportunity of seizing the best part of the Country, which he held a considerable time with the Consent of the *Grisons*, who were glad to shake off the
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the *Austrian* Yoke and recover their Sovereignty. In the mean time the Pope made loud Complaints of the Injustice and Dishonour that was done him at the Court of *France*, which were not much regarded by the Cardinal.

1625. Another Enterprize was concerted the following Year between the Cardinal and the Duke of *Savoy*, which made a great Noise: The *French* and the Duke having each of them their Pretensions on the Republick of *Genoa*, it was agreed privately to raise an Army of thirty thousand Men, and attempt the Conquest of that Country; and if they succeeded to divide it between them. The *Genoese* and the rest of the *Italian* Princes observ'd the Preparations of War that were making on their Frontiers, but imagin'd they were design'd to support the *French* Troops in the *Valteline*, till they saw them join and march directly for *Genoa*. The Country being utterly unprovided against such an Invasion, they made themselves Masters of all the Towns in the *Genoese* Territories except the Capital and *Savona*: But the Constable *Lefdiguieres*, who commanded the *French*, and the Duke falling out about dividing the Spoil, and the *Spaniards* sending an Army of thirty thousand Men at the same time to the Assistance of the *Genoese*, the *French* and *Savoyards* were forc'd to abandon their Conquests with the same speed that they made them. The *French* might have supported their Troops in the Territories of the *Genoese* indeed by timely Re-inforcements, but they had no Mind to enter into a formal War with the *Spaniards*, while the *Rochellers* and the rest of the *Hugonots* were in Arms.

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The *French* Court, it seems, on the conclusion of the last Peace with the *Rochellers*, had stipulated to demolish Fort *Lewis* near that City, which was built in order to block them up on the Land side. The Government taking no care to put this part of the Treaty in Execution, the *Rochellers* presented a Petition to his Majesty on that Subject, and meeting with nothing more than fair Words, were resolv'd to do themselves Justice forthwith; whereas, says my Author, had they waited till the King had been engag'd in a War with *Spain*, which seem'd almost inevitable at this time, Necessity wou'd have oblig'd him to have kept his Word with them; but being govern'd more by their Passions than good Policy, they assembled a Fleet to make Reprizals, and giving the Command of it to *Soubize*, he seiz'd upon seven of the King's Ships in the Port of *Blavet* or *Brest*. They afterwards attempted to surprize Fort *Lewis*, in which they did not meet with so good Success. However, they made frequent Excursions, and ravag'd all the Country round in the Possession of the Royalists, which the Governor of Fort *Lewis* was not able to prevent. *Soubize* also possess'd himself of the Islands of *Rhee* and *Oleron*, on the last of which he built three Forts for the Defence of it. The *Hugonots* also in *Languedoc*, being assembled by the Duke of *Rohan*, had frequent Skirmishes with the Royalists.

The War breaks out again between the *Hugonots* and *Papists*.

The *French* King about this time hir'd twenty or thirty Ships of the *Hollanders*, and procur'd seven or eight more of the Court of *England*, to be employ'd in the Expedition against *Genoa*; but the *Rochellers* being Masters of all the Sea Coasts, so that no Ships cou'd go

The *French* hire *English* and *Dutch* Ships against the *Rochellers*.

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in or out of their Ports without danger of falling into their Hands, the King determin'd to send the Ships he had procur'd of the *English* and *Dutch* to suppress the naval Power of the *Rochellers*, and deprive them of the Islands they had possess'd themselves of. The *English* Mariners understanding they were to fight against their Friends the *Rochellers*, left their Ships, of which seven were Merchant-men and the other a Man of War, with the *French* Admiral, and return'd to *England*, where great Complaints were made to the Government against the Court of *France* for abusing the *English*, in employing their Ships against *Rochelle* which were lent for another Service. The King of *England* however being just married to the Princess *Henrietta* a Daughter of *France*, and enter'd into an Alliance with that Crown against *Spain*, did not think it proper immediately to break with his Brother-in-Law, till he had first expostulated the matter with him by way of Negotiation.

The *Hollanders* were not so scrupulous as the *English* on this Occasion; for though the *Rochellers* were *Calvinists* of the same Communion with themselves, yet in consideration of a Pension of six hundred thousand Crowns *per Annum*, which they annually receiv'd of the *French* King, and in hopes of their entring into an Alliance with them against their old Enemy the *Spaniard*, they suffer'd their Admiral and his whole Fleet to assist in the Destruction of their Protestant Brethren. They put themselves under the Command of *Montmerency* the *French* Admiral, and having assisted *Thoiras*, Governor of *Fort Lewis*, in his Descent on the Isles of *Rhee* and *Oleron*, out of which he beat *Soubise*, they afterwards ruin'd the best part of the

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the *Rochelle* Fleet, and among the rest their Admiral, who perish'd bravely however, for three of the Enemies Ships being grappled with him, he set fire to his Powder, which blew them all up into the Air together.

The *Rochellers* being reduc'd to very low Circumstances, block'd up on the Land-side by the Forts which had been built by the Royalists, depriv'd of the Supplies of Provisions they us'd to receive from the Isles of *Rhee* and *Oleron*, and incapable of procuring Supplies by Sea on the Loss of their Fleet, sent Deputies to the *French* King, imploring his Mercy, and desiring Peace on almost any Terms. However, as nothing less would satisfy the Court than the Surrender of their Town and the demolishing the Fortifications, they return'd home without effecting any thing. But the Court of *England* about this time demanding the Restitution of the Ships that had been lent the *French* King, which were refus'd, and resolving to assist the *Rochellers*, the Cardinal was inclin'd to grant that People better Terms: He insisted on no more at this time than that the *Roman* Catholicks should be allow'd the free Exercise of their Religion in *Rochelle*, and that the Estates and Goods of the Ecclesiasticks should be restor'd them: and on the other hand, he agreed the *Hugonots* shou'd have the Benefit of the Edict of *Nants*, and shou'd not be molested by *Fort Lewis*, or any of the Forts erected in the Isles of *Rhee* or *Oleron*, but might peaceably enjoy the Estates they had there. And when the Cardinal was reproach'd with being a Friend to *Hugonots* on this occasion, because he wou'd not extirpate them when it was in his Power, he let those he was most intimate with under-
Peace with the *Rochellers* again.

stand, that he fully intended to destroy them, and only granted them this Peace (which he design'd to break the first Opportunity) till he had settled some foreign Negotiations; and the Protestants themselves were so sensible of this, that they sent *Soubise* to *England*, notwithstanding the Peace, to solicit for a Reinforcement. The Cardinal had two great Inducements for concluding this Agreement with the *Hugonots*; one of them was, that he might make the better Terms with *Spain*, which Court remain'd very intractable while they found *France* engag'd in a Civil War: the other was the breaking of the Power of the Princes of the Blood and great Lords, who from the beginning were uneasy to see the Administration of the Government entrusted solely in his Hands by the King.

Peace

with *Spain*

The Peace with *Spain* he accomplish'd the same Year, the principal Articles whereof were, that the *Valteline* should be put into the same Condition it was in the Year 1617; that the Sovereignty of that Country should be left to the *Grisons*; that they should be Masters of the Passes as formerly, but that the *Roman* Catholick Religion only should be exercis'd in the *Valteline*; that they shou'd be at liberty to chuse a Catholick *Grison* Governor, and their Magistrates also be all Catholicks; that the Forts in the *Valteline* shou'd be immediately raz'd, and that neither Party shou'd give any Assistance to their Allies who refus'd to acquiesce in this Treaty.

The Cardinal sets himself to depress the Power of the Princes of the Blood and great Men.

The Cardinal being arriv'd to such a degree of Power at this time that more court was made to him than to the King or the Princes of the Blood, began to think how he might establish his Grandeur, and prevent the

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bals of the great Men against him. The Person he was most apprehensive of was the Marshal *d'Ornano*, Governor to the King's Brother the Duke of *Orleans*; for the King being infirm, and having no Children at this time, the Nation began to cast their Eyes upon the Duke, as like to succeed to the Crown; and as *d'Ornano* was observ'd to have no less Influence over that Prince than *Richlieu* had over the King, the Cardinal at first propos'd the making *d'Ornano* his Friend, not doubting if he was supported by the Favourite of the first Prince of the Blood, the presumptive Heir of the Crown, he need not be concern'd at the Envy of the rest of the Grantees. But *Richlieu* not finding *d'Ornano* tractable, or disposed to support his Tyranny, began to look upon him as his Enemy, and it was not long before he resolv'd his Destruction, to effect which he made use of Father *Joseph a Capuchin*, who pretending a great Esteem and Friendship for the Marshal, led him into Discourses which render'd him obnoxious to the Government. He also put him upon demanding of his Majesty that Monsieur the Duke of *Orleans* might be admitted into the Council, and made General of the Army, with which the King immediately acquainted the Cardinal, and demanded his Opinion. This Prelate put the most odious Constructions imaginable upon these Propositions, and as he knew his Majesty to be of a fearful jealous Temper, he said the Marshal had inspir'd too ambitious Thoughts into his Brother, who was immediately to succeed to the Crown in case his Majesty had no Children; that he demanded the Command of the Army only to make use of it against him that gave it, or at

least that he might share the Government with him; and that the Marshal would infallibly one time or other draw Monsieur into some destructive Scheme against the State. He acquainted the King also with some Arguments which 'twas reported *d'Ornano* had us'd to dissuade Monsieur from marrying *Madamoiselle de Monpensier*; as that if he espous'd one of the King's Subjects he wou'd himself become more a Subject than before, and his Fortune wou'd be absolutely in the Hands of the King's Minister, whereas if he made a foreign Alliance, it might be of use to him if the King gave himself up to the haughty and violent Spirit of the Cardinal.

The King giving Credit to these Insinuations, in order to take Monsieur out of the Hands of *d'Ornano*, admitted him voluntarily into the Cabinet Council; whereupon the Marshal desir'd that he might be admitted also, as had been promis'd him under the Ministry of *Luines*, or at least that he might stand by him in Council as one of the Secretaries; but both were deny'd him: whereupon, 'tis said, he shew'd his Discontent in Terms very displeasing to his Majesty, and two Days after he was arrested with some other of Monsieur's Officers, and carried Prisoner to the Castle of *Vincennes*, being charg'd with conspiring against the King and the prime Minister, in order to render himself Master of the Government. But whether the Marshal and his Friends were in any Plot or not, 'tis certain this violent Proceeding against him occasion'd a Plot against the Cardinal, which was very near being fatal to him.

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For Monsieur having Notice of the Imprisonment of the Marshal, went to his Majesty and demanded the Reason of it, and told him if he put the Marshal to death, who was an innocent Man, he would die with him ; that he saw he was fallen into the Snare his Enemies had long laid for him, and he hoped that the Justice of his Majesty would not abandon his Brother, and an Officer of the Crown, to the Fury of their Enemies. That if he ever discover'd the Author's of the Marshal's Imprisonment, nothing but the Arms of his Majesty should save him from his Revenge. These Transports only serving to augment the Distrust which the Cardinal endeavour'd to raise in the King's Mind against Monsieur, and there being no Hopes of procuring *d'Ornano's* Liberty, nine or ten Persons of Distinction, Friends to the Duke of *Orleans*, enter'd into a Resolution to assassinate the Cardinal at *Fleury*, where he then was. The Marquis *de Chalais*, who was one of the number, discover'd the Design to *Valencay*, one of his intimate Friends, in hopes he would have engaged with them ; but *Valencay* on the contrary censur'd the Enterprize, and assur'd him that he would discover it to the Cardinal, unless he would do it himself, and thereby make his Peace with that Prelate. Whereupon they went together to *Fleury*, where *Chalais* made such a Discovery of the Matter as he saw fit ; particularly he told the Cardinal that Monsieur, under pretence of coming to dine with him the next Day, wou'd send his Officers early in the Morning in order to provide a Dinner for him, but that the true Design was to encrease the Strength of the Conspirators. Accordingly at three of the Clock in the Morning Monsieur's

A Conspiracy against the Cardinal.

fieur's People came to *Fleury* as if they were to prepare a Dinner : Whereupon the Cardinal left his Apartment, and with a numerous Retinue came to *Fontainblau*, where the King then was : He went immediately to Monsieur's Chamber, who was just rising, and extremely surpris'd to see him there ; he expostulated with him that he wou'd not permit him to get a Dinner for him, and told him that he had left his House to the Duke's People as soon as they appear'd. The Cardinal's Enemies cou'd not apprehend how he had discover'd the Design, there being none concern'd in it but those whom they believ'd they might rely upon. The Cardinal, to conceal the Person he had it from, pretended he had receiv'd the Intelligence from abroad, and order'd Count *Chalais* to dissemble himself to be of the same Party still, that he might the better penetrate into the Depth of his Enemies Designs. *Chalais* accordingly deceiv'd his Friends a second time ; he confess'd he had made a Discovery in part, to prevent *Valencay's* doing it before him, but that he wou'd still be faithful to them, and assist in the Execution of the Matter.

Besides the Duke of *Orleans*, several others of the first Quality were accus'd, as Count *Soissons* another Prince of the Blood, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Duke of *Vendosme*, the Grand Prior of *France*, the Duke of *Espernon*, the Duke of *Chevreuse*, the Marquis *de Valette*, and many more ; of whom the Grand Prior, the Duke of *Vendosme*, and several others, were apprehended and carried to the Castle of *Vincennes*. Monsieur hereupon was about to withdraw himself from the Court, but the Cardinal apprehending this might be to the
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Disadvantage of his Projects, employ'd some of his Agents to divert him from it; and having sufficiently terrified him with the Threats of the King's Displeasure, offer'd him at length, that if he wou'd desert the Party who had put him upon the late Attempts against his Person, he wou'd become his fast Friend, and procure him whatever he cou'd desire of his Majesty. The Duke of Orleans considering that if he comply'd with the Cardinal he shou'd not only escape a Prosecution, which might be fatal to him, but be restor'd to the King's Favour, and might advance his Interest in many other Particulars, let that Prelate know, that if he wou'd stay the Proceedings against Marshal d'Ornano, and encrease his Revenue an hundred thousand Florins *per Ann.* and admit him to marry whom he pleas'd, he wou'd unite his Interests with him. The Cardinal, after some Consideration, agreed to indulge him in all these Particulars.

The D. of Orleans becomes Depend-ant on the Cardinal.

In the mean time a special Commission was issued for the Tryal of Count *Chalais*; for tho' *Richlieu* had promis'd him his Favour on making a full Discovery, and his testifying some Particulars which he had suggested to him, yet under Pretence he had not been ingenuous in his Confession, he resolv'd to proceed with the utmost Severity; and because he was apprehensive that the Parliaments or ordinary Courts of Justice might not convict him, or rather, says my Author, to let the great Men see that if they caball'd against him there was no way of avoiding his Revenge, he instituted this new Method of Tryal, which the Ministers frequently made use of afterwards to destroy those that oppos'd them.

Richlieu tries the great Men by an extraordinary Commission.

And

And it seems the Cardinal had prevail'd upon the Duke of *Orleans* himself to testify that *Chalais* had advis'd him to withdraw from Court, and offer'd to furnish him with the Means of doing it. It was depos'd against him also, that he had reconcil'd himself to the Party that were to destroy the Cardinal, and engaged in that Design a second time. To which the Prisoner answer'd, he had indeed pretended to do so, but it was in order to serve the Cardinal, and by his and the King's particular Orders. But however that Matter really was, it seems he thought it convenient to take *Chalais* off; and Sentence being pass'd on him to lose his Head, this Minister suffer'd it to be executed. So dangerous is it to play a double Game; or rather, so little Dependance is there to be had on the Promise of a Minister.

Among other Discoveries that 'tis said were made on this Occasion, it is reported that *d'Ornano* had told the Queen-Consort, that if the King died, the Duke of *Orleans* might lawfully marry her: Nay, that they had talk'd of declaring the King impotent and putting him into a Monastery, and even of marrying her to Monsieur his Brother in his Life-time. But these probably were Suggestions of *Richlieu's*, to render his Majesty's nearest Relations suspected, that he might depend solely on the prime Minister. And indeed Count *Soissons*, one of the Princes of the Blood, having seen the Fate of *Chalais*, and been charg'd with a Design of going to *Rochelle* to put himself at the Head of the *Hugonots*, as many other of the Nobility were with other Crimes, they thought fit to leave the Kingdom, or retire and live privately

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on their Estates : So that the Cardinal had now a clear Stage ; scarce any of the Grandees were left at Court except the Duke of *Orleans*, and him he had made dependant on him. As to *d'Ornano*, he died in the Castle of *Vincennes* of a Fever, as it was given out, tho' some reported he was poison'd. In his last Moments being about to take the Sacrament, he swore upon his Salvation, that the Duke of *Orleans* had never harbour'd a Thought against the King's Person as he cou'd perceive, and that those about him had never given him any such Advice ; but that the Duke seeing himself entirely excluded from the Government, which was pass'd into the Hands of the Cardinal, had only sought means to lessen the excessive Power of that Minister, and to obtain a share of it himself. That whatever more had been said was false, or never came to his Knowledge.

Richlieu having reconcil'd the King to his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, and made him his Friend, in Appearance at least, procur'd his Majesty's Consent for his marrying *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*. The King also gave his Highness the Dutchies of *Orleans* and *Chartres*, with the County of *Blois*, besides five hundred and sixty thousand Livres annual Pension ; and his Wife brought him an Estate of three hundred and thirty thousand Livres *per Ann.* and being possess'd of so noble a Revenue, this Prince now thought of nothing but indulging his Pleasures, and seem'd to have forgot the ill Usage he had receiv'd : But he was the only Person, it is observ'd, that was concern'd in the Conspiracy against the Cardinal, that did not suffer either in his Person, his Fortune or Reputation. Even the Queen-
The D. of *Orleans* marries.

Confort was brought before the Council, and reproach'd by the King for entertaining Thoughts of a second Husband in his Lifetime.

A Guard
appointed
the
Cardinal.

As the Cardinal had exasperated the Princes of the Blood, and acquir'd the Hatred of most of the Nobility by his arbitrary and contemptuous Behaviour towards them, he was sensible this would not be the last Conspiracy form'd against him. He procur'd the Pope's Nuntio therefore to represent to his Majesty the Danger he had incurr'd by the Zeal he express'd for his Service; whereupon the King appointed him Guards like a Sovereign Prince for his Security, believing that his Crown and Government depended entirely on the Life of this Prelate. He order'd also that whoever had any Business with him, shou'd first apply to some other Minister, from whom he was to obtain a Licence in Writing to see the Cardinal, before the Captain of his Guard might permit the Person to enter his Gates.

An Assembly
of the
Notables
call'd.

Thus having fortified himself against all Surprize. He determin'd to render the King (or rather himself) absolute in his Dominions. And first he summon'd an Assembly of the Notables, to approve and give a Sanction to his Administration. This Assembly consisted of Monsieur the Duke of Orleans, President; the Cardinal *de la Valette*; the Marshals *de la Force* and *Bassompierre*; the first and second Presidents of the Parliament of *Paris*; of the first Presidents of the eight other Parliaments of the Kingdom; of the Procurators, or Attorney Generals; of the first and second Presidents of the Chambers of Accounts of *Paris*, *Rouen* and *Dijon*, with their Attorney-Generals, and those of the three Courts of

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Aids; the Lieutenant Civil of *Paris*; six Knights of the Order of the *Holy Ghost*; six of the Council, and twelve Prelates.

Antiently when the State of the Kingdom was to be consider'd, new Laws made, or Taxes rais'd, it had been usual to convene the three Estates of the Kingdom, that is, the Representatives of the Clergy, Nobility and great Towns, without whose Approbation nothing pass'd into a Law. But the Cardinal despairing of having his Measures approv'd by these, resolv'd entirely to disuse it, and convene the Notables, who were sometimes also call'd together upon Emergencies, when there was not time or opportunity for a Meeting of the States; and the Court being at liberty to pick out whom they pleas'd to constitute these Assemblies, seldom fail'd of having their Conduct approv'd by them. These therefore the Cardinal did not doubt of modelling according to his Wishes, and to make them ratify whatever he had transacted.

His Majesty being present at the opening of the Assembly, acquainted them that he had call'd them together to remedy the Disorders of the State, and that the Keeper of the Seals wou'd further declare his Pleasure. The Keeper *Murillac* thereupon said, that the King had conven'd them to receive their Advice on the important Affairs of the Government, in Imitation of his Predecessors, who sometimes assembled the three Estates, and sometimes the Notables (or Persons of Distinction) consisting of a less Number: Then having made a Panegyrick on his Majesty, he thank'd Heaven for the Discovery of the Conspiracies form'd against him, (or rather the Cardinal). He let them know that the Government was

greatly in Debt, by the Charges the Civil War had occasion'd, and the Pensions given to the Allies of the Crown and the great Men of the Kingdom. That the King had been oblig'd to raise Money by various means, and yet the Treasury was above fifty millions in Debt from the constant Deficiencies of those Supplies. That his Majesty wou'd endeavour to retrench his private Expences, and regulate his Finances; but still means must be found out to augment his Revenues, and to put him in a Condition to repress the frequent Conspiracies and Rebellions form'd against the Government; and that his Majesty wou'd order the Estimates for these Purposes to be laid before the Assembly. *The Reader will forgive me reciting the Heads of this Speech for the Resemblance it has to some more modern Speeches that have been frequently made in a neighbouring Kingdom.*

1627.
The
Notables
grant all
the Taxes
and Forces
the Court
demands.

When Money, the ultimate end of all Speeches of this Nature was propos'd to be rais'd, it was with the greatest readiness agreed to be done by the Creation of a multitude of new Offices, or a Charge upon those that were already in Being; by Customs and Duties on Goods, Manufactures, and the Produce of the Earth, such as were never known before. And one Design of assembling the Notables, no doubt, was, that the People might discharge their Rage upon them for these Oppressions, while the Ministry, who were the Contrivers of them, escap'd their Censure. The Notables shew'd an equal Zeal to raise what Forces the Court demand'd for Sea and Land-Service; and in short, deny'd nothing that was demanded of them.

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Nor is it to be suppos'd they shou'd, when most of them had Places or Pensions, and while they gave the King with one Hand, receiv'd part of the Supplies they granted with the other. The Interest of the Nation, we may be sure, was much studied by these mercenary Creatures.

There was a great deal of Talk, says my Author, of re-establishing Navigation and Commerce, of which Cardinal *Richlieu* was made Superintendant; but his Projects produc'd very little Fruit, any more than a great many others that were set on foot during his Administration to amuse the Nation and render him popular. The Subjects were exhausted and impoverish'd by Taxes to maintain unprofitable Wars while he was at the Helm, and consequently foreign Trade cou'd not be carried on to any great Advantage.

In the mean time there happen'd some Misunderstandings between the Courts of *France* and *England*, which at length broke out into an open War. The *French* had employ'd the *English* Ships which were lent them to assist in the Siege of *Genoa* against the *Rochellers*, and refus'd to restore them, as has been observ'd already; whereupon the *English* made Reprials, by stopping several *French* Merchant Ships in the Ports of *England*. The Court of *France* on the other hand seiz'd the Effects of the *English* Merchants in that Kingdom to the Value of two or three hundred thousand Pounds. But these Differences had been accommodated, and the Ships and Merchandizes reciprocally return'd. A further Breach however was made between the two Nations the following Year 1627, by the Indiscretion of some of the Queen of *England's* Servants, that

War
between
France and
England.

Insolence
of the
Popish
Priests in
England.

that did ill Offices between the two Courts. The Queen, as has been mention'd already, was allow'd by the Articles of Marriage to entertain *French Roman Catholicks* and *Popish Priests* in her Service; who were ever endeavouring to promote the Interest of their Country and Religion, and making what *Profelytes* they cou'd to their Faith; which gave great Offence to some *English Protestants*, and occasion'd ill-natur'd Reflections on his Majesty, as his being enclin'd to Popery, encouraging it, &c. But the Priests in the Queen's Retinue still gave the King greater Occasion to complain, when they engag'd her Majesty to walk to the common Gallows at *Tyburn* to adore the Saints and Martyrs of her Religion, who had been executed there in the two preceding Reigns. This, and the Differences they daily created between the King and her, occasion'd his Majesty to dismiss them all at once, to the number of two hundred and twenty; among whom was the Bishop of *Meude*. They receiv'd, however, in Wages and Presents, the Value of two and twenty thousand Pounds and upwards, before they were sent back.

The *French King* complain'd of this Transaction as a Breach of the Articles of Marriage, and order'd the *English Shipping* in his Ports to be detain'd, tho' the King of *England* sent over the Lord *Carlton* to represent the Necessity of proceeding in this manner for the Peace of the Nation as well as that of the Royal Family.

The K. of
England
sends Re-
lief to the
Rochellers.

The *French Court* remaining inexorable, the Court of *England* hearken'd to the Solicitations of *Soubise* in behalf of the *French Protestants*, and determin'd to send a Fleet of Ships to

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to the Assistance of the *Rochellers*, who were in a manner block'd up by the Forts built about their Town; and a Declaration was drawn up in the Name of the Duke of *Bucks*, who was appointed both Admiral and General in the Expedition, wherein there are three Motives mention'd for entring into this War, 1. That the *French* having enter'd into an Alliance with the *English* for the Restoration of the Elector *Palatine*, and agreed to join their Forces with those of his *British* Majesty and march in Conjunction into *Germany* to his Assistance, the *French* did not only fail in furnishing their Quota of Troops for that Expedition, but deny'd the *English* Forces that came over to *Calais* in order to join them, the liberty of landing there; whereby most of the Forces perish'd on board, and the Expedition was ruin'd. 2. That the *French* King, contrary to his Treaties with his Protestant Subjects, of which the King of *England* was Guarantee, had block'd up their Towns and Forts. And, 3. That he had seiz'd all the *English* Shipping and Merchandize in his Ports. But whatever were the declar'd or conceal'd Reasons for assisting the *Rochellers*, the Duke of *Bucks* with a Fleet consisting of an hundred Sail of Men of War and Transports, set sail from *Portsmouth* the seventh of *June*, and came before *Rochelle* about a Month afterwards, when they refus'd to admit him or any of his People into the City, notwithstanding they had sent *Soubize*, Brother to the Duke of *Rohan*, over into *England* to implore Aid of the *English* Court; nor could *Soubize* with all his Importunity prevail with the *Rochellers* to act in concert with the *English* Fleet. They said, they thank'd his *British* Majesty and the Duke for their kind Intentions;

Declara-
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France.

Intentions ; but as there was a Treaty of Union between them and the rest of their Bretheren in the several Provinces of *France*, they durst not accept of Foreign Succours till they knew their Resolutions. But this surely should have been thought of before they had put the *English* to the Charge of this great Armament, and drawn them into a War against this Kingdom ; and no doubt the Protestants of the other Provinces had long since been consulted upon the point : But the true Reason of this abundant Caution, was certain Advice they had receiv'd from their Bretheren the *English* Sectaries, that King *Charles* either design'd to make himself Master of their City, and perhaps introduce Episcopacy there, which they dreaded equal to Popery ; Or that the King of *England* would make Peace with *France*, and deliver them up to the Mercy of their enraged Sovereign. The Duke might justly have been provok'd at the Fickleness and unkind Suspicions of the *Rochellers*, and left them to shift for themselves ; but because he was unwilling to return to *England* without effecting any thing, after the Kingdom had been at such a vast Expence to send Relief to the *French Protestants*, he determin'd to land his Forces on the Isle of *Rhee*, which lies near *Rochelle*, to give the Citizens time to consider their true Interest. I don't doubt but *Soubize* represented to him how ungovernable the *Hugonots* generally were, even when they were commanded by those of their own Nation of the first Quality : That their Preachers wou'd frequently defeat the best laid Designs of their Generals, through their Superstition and Bigottry : That his Father, the Duke of *Rohan*, who was at that instant drawing their Forces together

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gether to oppose the Prince of *Conde*, was far from being obey'd as he ought, and as the Necessity of their Affairs requir'd; and that most of the Heads of their Party had gone over to the Court, as despairing of Success where the Multitude were under no Command; but that they were a well meaning afflicted People, and it wou'd be glorious to him if he shou'd attempt to deliver them from the Tyranny and Oppression they labour'd under, even without their Concurrence. These Considerations, or something of the like nature, was probably suggested to the Duke by the *French* Protestants on board the Fleet, or he wou'd not have made a Descent on the Isle of *Rhee*, where there was a considerable Body of *French* Troops drawn together to oppose his landing. The *French* Historians say he was repuls'd three times, in which he lost a great many brave Men, but carry'd his point at last, and oblig'd *Thoiras*, the Governor, to retire into the Castle of *St. Martins*, and other Forts upon the Island, with his Troops. Had the Duke immediately laid Siege to the Castle, it is computed he might have carried it in a Fortnights time: But he seems to have been totally unprovided for a Siege, and therefore propos'd only to block up the Forts, and prevent any Supplies of Ammunition and Provision being thrown into them, till he cou'd be furnish'd with Materials proper for a Siege from *England* or *Rochelle*. And indeed the *Rochellers*, when they had consider'd the Advantage the Possession of the Isle of *Rhee* wou'd be to them, that many of their Estates lay there, and they had great part of their Provision from thence, they did vouchsafe to supply the

The Duke
of *Bucks*
makes a
Descent
on the
Isle of *Rhee*

Here im-
barks his
Troops.

Duke with some Forces and other Necessaries towards the reducing of *St. Martins* : But it was now too late ; Cardinal *Richlieu* had found means to transport such Numbers of Troops into the Island, that the *French* were become much superior in Numbers to the *English*. Whereupon the Duke, after having remain'd there three Months, found himself under a Necessity of raising the Siege, and re-imbarking his Troops for *England* ; which was done with less Loss than cou'd have been expected, considering they were to retire in the Face of a numerous Enemy. According to the *English* Account, which seems to be the truest, they lost two thousand Men in this Expedition ; but the *French* say eight ; which is near as many as they had when they made the Descent. The *Rochellers*, now sensible of the Sincerity of the *English*, parted good Friends with the Duke of *Bucks*, and he promis'd to return with a more powerful Re-inforcement to their Assistance the next Spring.

One great Occasion of the Duke's not carrying the Castle of *St. Martins*, and making himself Master of the Isle of *Rhee*, was the Dilatoriness of the Earl of *Holland* ; who being intrusted to carry the necessary Stores and Ammunition to the Isle of *Rhee* for a Siege had got no further than *Plimouth* with them when the Duke return'd to *England* ; and it was by no means advisable to hazard so great a Fleet as the Duke had with him, longer upon the *French* Coast in Winter, if there had not been an Army to oppose his Operations. But as he began to want all Necessaries, and the *French* Troops were much superior to those he had with him, the Duke's Retreat

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does not seem to deserve any manner of Censure, tho' the Fanaticks and the rest of his domestick Enemies us'd him very scurrilously on this Occasion.

The *French* continued the Blockade of The *Rochelle* after the Retreat of the *English* Fleet, *French K. continues the Blockade of* and during the Winter built Forts on the Lines of Circumvallation at little Distances, which entirely cut off all Communication between *Rochelle* and the Country on the Land side; and as the Mouth of the Harbour was about a Mile in breadth, they began an amazing Work, a Stone Wall twelve Fathom wide at the Foundation, and strengthened with huge Piles on each side, which was to be extended from either Shore so far into the Sea, as to leave only a small Space for the Flux and Reflux of the Tide, in which they design'd to sink so many Vessels, as shou'd render the Entrance into the Harbour impracticable. The *Rochellers* observing they were in danger of being shut up by Sea and Land, begg'd of the Court of *England* to hasten their Preparations, before these Works were finish'd. They represented that if this shou'd once be effected, no Provisions cou'd be got into the Town, and all the Strength of *Europe* wou'd not be able to deliver them; they must be forc'd to submit to a victorious and exasperated Prince. Whereupon the King of *England* gave Orders to work Night and Day on the Fleet design'd for the Relief of *Rochelle*, which actually set Sail from *Plimouth*, under the Command of the Earl of *Denbigh*, about the middle of *April* 1628, and arriv'd before *Rochelle* on the first of *May*. Notwithstanding the Wall or Barricado above-mention'd gradually decreas'd in thickness

French K. continues the Blockade of Rochelle.

1628.

A second Fleet sent to the Relief of *Rochelle*.

ness as it was rais'd in height, yet was it broad enough at the Top to erect little Works upon it, to shelter the Soldiers who were plac'd for the Defence of it, and they rang'd arm'd Vessels along the side of this Mole for its greater security. The *French* also had now so good an Understanding with the *Spaniards*, that they procur'd a large Squadron of Men of War of them, which join'd with their own, compos'd a Fleet of an hundred Sail, that prevented a great Convoy of Provisions the *English* had got ready during the Winter being put into the Town. The Earl of *Denbigh* also found the Works at the Mouth of the Harbour so far advanc'd, and the Passage block'd up by Vessels that were sunk in it, that if it had not been defended by the *French* Fleet, yet wou'd it have been impossible for his large Ships to have enter'd it; whereupon after some fruitless Attempts against the Works, he was forc'd to return back without effecting any thing. The *French Hugonots* were very angry with the *English* that they had not sent Ships of less Burthen, which they observ'd might have got into the Harbour at this time, tho' these great Vessels cou'd not; which possibly wou'd have been comply'd with if the *Rochellers* had given them a particular Account of their Circumstances: But it wou'd not certainly have been prudent to have gone to the Relief of this Town only with small Ships, when the *English* Court had receiv'd certain Advice that the *French* and *Spaniards* lay before it with a Fleet of an hundred Sail. But to return to the *French* Army which block'd up *Rochelle* by Land. The Cardinal to animate the Soldiery, who were almost wearied out with the length

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of the Siege, prevail'd upon the *French* King to remain with his Army in Person great part of the Year; but the King having waited seven Months, and there being still no Prospect of the Town's surrendering suddenly, he pretended extraordinary Business, and return'd to *Paris*, giving *Richlieu* a Commission, though a Cardinal and a Bishop, to be Lieutenant-General of his Armies, laying his Commands on the Duke of *Angouleme*, the Marshals *Bassompierre* and *Schomberg*, and the rest of his Officers, to obey the Cardinal as they wou'd his Majesty if he were actually present.

Richlieu
made
Commander in
chief of
the Army.

The Cardinal, though he understood very little of the Conduct of an Army, yet as he was of an active penetrating Spirit, was very capable of receiving the Advice of the Generals, and distinguishing what was feasible and what not: Nor wou'd he refuse the being concern'd in Person in the most difficult and hazardous Enterprizes, though very foreign to his Profession, if he might be indulg'd with the supreme Command and Superintendancy of the Affair. And how incongruous soever it might seem to make a Bishop General of an Army, as he was apprehensive the Siege might miscarry in his Absence by the Misunderstandings or private Views of the General Officers, those that saw furthest into things thought he cou'd not more effectually advance the Service than by taking the Command upon himself. When the King left the Army he express'd the greatest Concern imaginable that his Affairs wou'd not suffer him to take the Cardinal with him, and charg'd him not to be too prodigal in exposing his Person in the Trenches every Day as he was us'd to do, intimating that he cou'd not live without him.

Richlieu

Richlieu apprehending that the Army wou'd suffer pretty much by a Winter's Campaign, took care that they shou'd be well paid and cloath'd, and the Camp always abounded with plenty of Provisions which were brought in from the neighbouring Country; his Troops observ'd so exact a Discipline, that the Peasants brought Corn, Wine and Flesh thither with as much Security, and were better paid for it than they cou'd expect to be in another Market.

At the time the *English* Fleet was expected under the Command of the Earl of *Denbigh*, (as has been mention'd already) the Cardinal thought it advisable that the King shou'd return to the Camp for the Encouragement of the Soldiers, and his Majesty accordingly arriv'd before *Rochelle* again on the 24th of *April*. When they saw the *English* Squadron, and observ'd they were compos'd of large Vessels, they soon conjectur'd they would be able to do them very little hurt, because there was not Water enough at the Entrance of the Harbour for Vessels of that Burthen to ride in: And so it prov'd; the *English* were oblig'd to retire without introducing any Supplies of Men or Provisions into the place, as has been related above.

The D. of
Bucks pre-
pares for
the Relief
of *Rochelle*
again.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, notwithstanding this Disappointment, was determin'd to attempt the Relief of *Rochelle* in Person once again: accordingly he gave Orders for a greater Sea-Armament than ever; he look'd upon his Reputation to be at Stake, and seems resolv'd to carry his Point or perish in the Attempt; and as he apprehended it to be an Enterprize of infinite Difficulty and Hazard, since such stupendous Works had been rais'd

both

both on the Sea and Land-side of the Town, he took leave of his Friends, as our Historians inform us, as if he never expected to see them any more : particularly when he parted from Bishop *Laud*, it is reported that he desir'd him to put his Majesty in mind to be good to his Wife and Children ; soon after which he repair'd to *Portsmouth*, in order to go on board the Fleet, but was stabb'd there on the twenty-third of *August* by that Assassin *Felton*, a violent Enthusiast, who had been taught by the Phanticks his Brethren, that the killing the Duke wou'd be acceptable to God, and the greatest Service he cou'd do his Country.

He is assassinated.

The King still pursued the Design of relieving *Rochelle*, and made the Earl of *Lindsey* Commander of the Fleet, which set Sail from *Portsmouth* on the eighth of *September* ; but when they arriv'd there, they found the huge Wall at the Mouth of the Harbour finish'd, and all the Shore cover'd with *French* Troops, and Batteries rais'd at every place where there was any possibility of landing. The Earl, however, made several brave Attempts to force his Passage, but cou'd not break through. Whereupon the *Rochellers*, who were now reduc'd to the last Extremity (no less than fifteen thousand of them having perish'd by Famine) despairing of Relief, thought fit to capitulate and surrender'd the eighth of *October*. The best Terms they cou'd obtain were a general Pardon, and Security as to their Lives, Liberties and Estates, upon which they were to deliver up the Town, and take an Oath never to bear Arms against his Majesty again. Nor had the Terms been so good, but that the *English* Fleet still remain'd upon the Coast, and there was

A third Fleet sent to *Rochelle*.

Rochelle surrenders

was some Expectation that the Tides, which are very high at the Approach of the Winter Season, might have demolish'd part of the Barricado at the Mouth of the Harbour, and given Admission to the *English* Fleet. They were oblig'd consequently to his *British* Majesty for the Enjoyment of their Lives and Estates, which had not been granted them, but for the Countenance the Royal Navy of *England* gave them. And surely no Prince ever met with harder Usage than King *Charles* did on this Occasion: His own Protestant Subjects thought it a sufficient Cause to enter into a Rebellion against him, because he did not support the Protestant Interest so effectually as they apprehended he might have done; and the *French* Catholicks thought themselves justified in fomenting the Insurrection of his Subjects, because he had so strenuously supported the Protestant *Rochellers*. It is agreed on all hands that the taking of this Place gave the greatest Blow to the Civil Liberties of *France*, as well as to the Protestant Religion there; for no sooner were the Protestants disarm'd, and their Cities, of which this was the most considerable, reduc'd, but the Court found themselves in a Condition to put what Terms they pleas'd on their fellow Subjects: Whereas if the Ministry were guilty of any Acts of Tyranny before this Misfortune, the People, by the Assistance of the Protestants, were generally able to make a stand, and defend their invaded Liberties: And this was indeed the true Reason that Cardinal *Richlieu* was determin'd to put them out of a Condition of resisting again: Till he had effected this, he cou'd never hope to establish a despotick Power in that Kingdom.

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The Destruction of the *Calvinists* in France is generally ascrib'd to the mercenary Temper of their Chiefs, and the ungovernable Disposition of their People. The Court, by offering Pensions and Places to the *Grandeess*, drew off many of them, and the Reluctance of the generality of the *Hugonots* to be under any Command or Government, disgusted many more. When their Generals had concerted Schemes for their Advantage, it was ten to one but they were controul'd and defeated by their ignorant enthusiastical Preachers, under Pretence that God did not approve either of their Persons or their Conduct; and thus the best laid Designs were often blasted. Ambition and Emulation among their Leaders for the supreme Command, contributed also in a very great degree to the Ruin of this People. But to proceed in our History. The King having taken Possession of *Rochelle*, publish'd a Declaration, whereby he restor'd the publick Profession of the *Roman Catholick* Religion in that City, and the Country of *Aunis* contiguous to it. He order'd that the demolish'd Churches shou'd be rebuilt, and their Revenues restor'd to the Clergy. That a Cross shou'd be erected in the Square of the Castle, with an Inscription shewing the time and manner of the Reduction of the City. That the Church where the *Hugonots* were us'd to assemble for divine Worship in the Castle, shou'd be converted into a Cathedral, and the City by the Pope's Permission made a Bishop's See. That the Offices of Mayor and Sheriff shou'd be suppress'd, and the Corporation entirely dissolv'd, and the City for the future govern'd by an Intendant of Justice appointed by his Majesty.

And finally, that the Walls and Fortifications shou'd be demolish'd.

Compliments were made his Majesty on the Reduction of *Rochelle* by the Pope and other Sovereign Princes ; *An Event*, says my Catholick Author, *of the utmost Importance for the Security of the King's Dominions ; a Mortal Blow to Calvinism, and the most glorious to Cardinal Richlieu's Administration.*

The War
in Languedoc.

While the King was at the Siege of *Rochelle*, the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Montmercy*, each of them, commanded an Army in *Languedoc* against the Duke of *Rohan* and the Protestants who were in Arms there, where being much superior to their Enemies, they ravag'd the Country, and us'd the poor *Hugonots* in the open Towns very barbarously, but did not make themselves Masters of *Montauban*, *Nismes*, or any of their strong places, which held out till the King return'd victorious from the War in *Italy*, of which I am next to give an Account.

The War
in Italy on
account of
the Succession to
Mantua.

Vincent Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, dying in the Year 1627 without Issue, his Honours and Territories devolv'd on the Duke of *Nevers* ; but the *Spaniards* being averse to the Succession of a *French* Nobleman, favour'd the Pretensions of *Cesar de Gonzaga*, Duke of *Guastalla*, who pretended also to be Heir of the late Duke, and prevail'd with the Emperor to grant him the Investiture of the Duchy of *Mantua*. The *French* King was no less zealous in supporting his Subject the Duke of *Nevers*, than the *Spaniards* were in the behalf of the Duke of *Guastalla* ; but being engag'd in the Siege of *Rochelle*, cou'd afford him no other Assistance at present than what was to be procur'd by Negotiations with the Pope

the *Venetians*, and other *Italian* Princes. In the mean time the *Spaniards* and the Duke of *Savoy* seiz'd on the greatest part of the *Montferrat*, and agreed to divide it between them; scarce any considerable place except *Casal* held out for the Duke of *Mantua* in that Territory, and the Duke was reduc'd to great Extremity in *Mantua* it self by the Emperor, who requir'd him to sequester the Territories of *Mantua* into the Hands of Count *Nassau*, till his Imperial Majesty shou'd have determin'd the Right of the several Pretenders.

The Siege of *Rochelle* being now over, the King was determin'd to send an Army to the Relief of the Duke of *Mantua*, of which he at first declar'd the Duke of *Orleans* Lieutenant-General and Commander in chief: But his Majesty, 'tis said, envying his Brother the Glory of the Enterprize, or rather the Cardinal not daring to trust his Royal Highness at the Head of so powerful an Army, persuaded the King to take the Field in Person, whereupon his Majesty begun his March towards *Italy* on the sixteenth of *January* 1628-9. The Duke of *Orleans* attended him as far as *Lyons*, and then return'd to *Paris*, declaring he wou'd not serve in an Army where the Cardinal wou'd command both him and the King.

The King
marches
at the
Head of
his Army
to *Italy*.

The Army being arriv'd at the foot of the *Alps*, his Majesty sent to the Duke of *Savoy* to demand Passage for his Troops into the *Montferrat*; but the Duke refus'd it, and began to fortify the Pass of *Susa* against him; whereupon the King attack'd it, and having order'd part of his Forces to climb the Mountains and charge the *Piemontois* in Flank, they immediately took to their Heels, making but a very

1629.
The
French
force the
Pass of
Susa.

A Treaty
between
France and
Savoy.

poor Resistance. The next Day his Majesty continu'd his March to the City of *Susa*, which surrendred upon the first Summons. And now the Duke of *Savoy*, finding himself unable to defend his Country, thought fit to enter into a Treaty with his Majesty, whereby he oblig'd himself to give free Passage for the *French* Troops through his Territories into the *Montferrat*, and to furnish them with Provisions: That he wou'd prevail with the *Spanish* General *Don Gonzales* to raise the Siege of *Casal* and withdraw his Troops out of the *Montferrat*, and leave the Duke of *Mantua* in the peaceable Possession of his Dominions; and that he wou'd enter into an Alliance with the Pope, the King, the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Mantua* for the Defence of the Duke's Territories. And the *French* King on his part promis'd to obtain of the Duke of *Mantua* for the Duke of *Savoy*, the Town of *Trino* in the *Montferrat*, and Lands to the Value of fifteen thousand Crowns *per Ann.*

A War a-
gainst the
Hugonots in
Languedoc.

The *French* King having reliev'd *Casal*, and put the Duke of *Mantua* into the Possession of the rest of the *Montferrat*, return'd over the Mountains with his Army and march'd into *Languedoc*, in order to give the finishing Stroke to the *Hugonot* War. The Duke of *Rohan* was not strong enough to keep the Field, and therefore distributed his Forces in the Towns of Security, which still remain'd in the Hands of the Protestants. The King thereupon laid Siege to *Privas* in the *Vivarez*, which was garrison'd by some of the bravest Troops the Duke of *Rohan* had, and defended the Place admirably well; but looking upon their Strength to be greater than it really was, they neglected to capitulate till all their Works

were

were taken, and cou'd obtain no Terms : They were oblig'd to surrender at discretion, and most of them cut in Pieces, or executed in cold Blood. One Occasion whereof might be, that after the Town was taken, and in a manner in Possession of the Royalists, one of the Soldiers of the Garrison set Fire to the Magazine of Powder, and blew up a great many of them. From hence the Army march'd to *Alets* or *Alais* in the *Cevennes*, which being terrified by the Fate of *Privas*, surrendred after a short Resistance, as did several other small Places. Upon these repeated Successes the Cardinal sent to the Duke of *Rohan*, advising him to submit to his Majesty, and not to expose himself and his Party to inevitable Ruin. He promis'd to the Duke himself, his Brother *Soubise* and the rest of the Protestants, a Pardon, and Security for their Estates and Religion, on Condition they wou'd demolish the Fortifications of *Nismes*, *Castres*, *d'Uzez* and *Montauban*, which were still in their Power : And the Protestants considering their low Circumstances, thought fit to comply with these Terms. The Treaty was sign'd at *Alets* on the 27th of *June* 1629. After which, the Duke of *Rohan*, with his Majesty's Consent, left the Kingdom, and retir'd to *Venice*, obliging himself not to return without his Permission. Soon after, the Fortifications of the Protestant Towns being demolish'd in pursuance of the said Treaty, the Cardinal made his Entry into *Montauban*, where he was complimented, and even flatter'd by the *Hugonot* Clergy to a very high degree. The Cardinal thereupon let them know, it was not the Custom of *France* to receive them as the Body of a Church on any Occasion whatever,

They submit and deliver up their Towns of Security.

whatever, but he receiv'd them as Men of Learning; that under that Notion they shou'd always be welcome to him, and he shou'd endeavour to demonstrate, on all Occasions, that the Difference of Religion shou'd never hinder his doing them all manner of good Offices. But the *Hugonots* having parted with their Cities of Security, and depending solely on the Pleasure of the Ministry, who never kept their Words with them any further than they conceiv'd it for their Advantage, the Party decreas'd insensibly; and notwithstanding the Submission and ready Obedience they shew'd to the Commands of their Sovereign, he labour'd continually to ruin them, under a Notion that he was bound in Conscience to do it as soon as he had an Opportunity; tho' it was not effected absolutely till the Repeal of the Edict of *Nants* in the next Reign.

Misunderstandings in the Royal Family.

While the King was engaged in the Wars of *Montferrat* and *Languedoc*, there happen'd some Misunderstandings in the Royal Family, which afterwards occasion'd great Alterations at Court: The Duke of *Orleans*, having buried his first Wife, enter'd into a new Amour with the Princess *Mary Gonzaga* Daughter of the Duke of *Nevers* and *Mantua*, to which Match the Queen-Mother shew'd an unalterable Aversion, pretending that this Princess was of an unhealthful Constitution, and not likely to have any Children; tho' the true reason of her opposing it was Monsieur's refusing to marry one of the Daughters of the Duke of *Florence*, her near Relation; by which she propos'd to support her Interest at Court in case of the King's Demise. The Queen, whom his Majesty had constituted Regent in

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his Absence, to prevent the Match with the Duke of *Mantua's* Daughter, prevail'd on him to send for her into *Italy*, of which the Duke of *Orleans* receiving Intelligence, laid a Scheme to intercept her in the Journey and marry her. The Queen having notice of his Design, seiz'd on the Princess of *Mantua* and the Dutchess of *Longueville*, and confin'd them both in the Castle of *Vincennes*. The Duke of *Orleans*, vex'd at this Disappointment, and disgusted because the Cardinal had depriv'd him of the Command of the Army in *Piedmont*, retir'd to *Nancy* in *Lorraine*. However, being soon made sensible that the Cardinal equally design'd his Ruin and the Queens, he was reconcil'd to her Majesty, and sent the Duke de *Bellegarde* to Court to desire the Queen-Mother not to be reconcil'd to the Cardinal, of whom he was determin'd to be reveng'd for the many Affronts he had receiv'd, and to assure her he wou'd marry into what Family she pleas'd. He offer'd the Ministry also to return to Court, on Condition they wou'd augment his Revenue an hundred thousand Livres *per Ann*; which at length was comply'd with. But to return to the War in *Italy*.

The Cardinal was no sooner return'd over The War
the *Alps* with his Army into *Languedoc*, but in *Italy*.
the Emperor's General, the Count de *Merode*,
enter'd the Country of the *Grisons* with an
Army of twenty thousand Men, and possess'd
himself of the Passes of the *Valteline*, whereby
he secur'd the Communication between Ger-
many and *Italy* again. The Motive of this
Expedition he declar'd was, that he might
be in a Condition to decide the Differences
concerning the Succession to *Mantua* and
Montferrat,

Montferrat, which were Fiefs of the Empire. And the Imperial Generals having summon'd the Duke of *Mantua* to surrender his Territories into their Hands till the Emperor had determin'd the Right, on his Refusal to comply with them, they took Possession of the greatest part of his Country.

The Cardinal hereupon rais'd another Army to march to the Relief of his *Italian* Allies, of which the King did not only give him the Command, but the Honour of representing his Person with the Title of Generalissimo, which at this time, 'tis said, was first made use of to satisfy his Vanity and give him the Superiority of the Marshals of *France* who serv'd under him. The Army being arriv'd at *Lyons*, the Cardinal sent to the Duke of *Savoy* to demand a Passage through his Country, and that he wou'd unite his Forces with those of *France*, as he had promis'd, to recover the *Mantuan* and *Montferrat* from the House of *Austria*. The Duke of *Savoy* deny'd he had made any such Promise. However, he agreed to give the *French* Passage, rather than come to a Rupture with them: But the Cardinal resolving to put it out of the Power of the Duke to prevent the *French* Armies entring *Italy* for the future, or to cut off their Retreat from thence, on some other trivial Pretence, took an Occasion to quarrel with the Duke, and surpris'd the Fortrefs of *Pignerol*, which open'd a Way to the *French* to enter *Italy* when they pleas'd, and rendred the Duke of *Savoy* dependant on them.

The Cardinal, who was Generalissimo in this Expedition, as has been related already, when he pass'd the River *Dore* at the Head of the

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the Army, was dress'd in bright Armour, his Hat adorn'd with Plumes of Feathers, and a Brace of Pistols before him, and seem'd to take a Pleasure in shewing the Soldiers how dexterous he was in managing the fine Horse he rode upon, prancing before the Ranks, and bidding the Officers take Notice of his Skill; and indeed this Prelate had been taught these Exercises before he was design'd for Holy Orders. But to proceed in our History. The French were not content with the taking of *Pignerol*, but made a Conquest of all *Savoy* except *Montmelian*; they seem'd to have forgotten their original Design of relieving the Duke of *Mantua*, suffering the Imperialists to take his Capital City, and drive him entirely out of his Territories, except the City of *Casal*, which was still in the Hands of the French. It is said they look'd upon the taking of *Pignerol*, and the reducing *Savoy*, of much greater Consequence to them than the marching to the Assistance of that Prince: Or rather, the Cardinal foresaw that he shou'd be able to relieve him by another Method; for it was about this time that the celebrated *Gustavus Adolphus* invaded *Germany*, with whom the Cardinal enter'd into a Confederacy, and engag'd to give that Prince four hundred thousand Crowns *per Annum* towards the Charges of the War. He renew'd the Alliance also with the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, by whose means he so distress'd the Emperor, that his Imperial Majesty found himself under a necessity of withdrawing his Troops from *Italy*, and of coming to Terms concerning *Mantua*: The Emperor promis'd to grant the Investiture to the Duke of *Nevers*, on Condition of his giving a Sum of Money to the other Pretenders.

The French in Alliance with *Gustavus Adolphus* and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*.

About this time *Charles-Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* died, leaving his Dominions to his eldest Son *Victor-Amadeus*, Brother-in-Law to the French King *Lewis* the Thirteenth, between whom and the French and Spaniards, the Pope's Nuntio *Mazarin* negotiated a Treaty, by which the French were great Gainers; and this, 'tis said, laid the Foundation of *Mazarin's* Greatness in France. By this Treaty the Spaniards agreed to evacuate *Mantua* and *Montferrat*, on Condition of the French King's evacuating *Savoy* and *Pignerol*: But the French, by *Mazarin's* Address, found means to purchase *Pignerol* of the Duke of *Savoy*: and if they had not had it this way, it seems the Cardinal was determin'd never to part with it, he apprehended it to be of such Importance to France.

A Cabal against the Cardinal.

During these Transactions the King of France and the Court were at *Lyons*, where his Majesty fell dangerously ill, insomuch that his Life was despair'd of. The Queen-Mother and Queen-Consort thereupon, 'tis said, enter'd into a Cabal with the two *Marillac's*, (one of whom was Keeper of the Seals, and the other a Marshal of France) the Princess of *Conti*, the Dutchess of *Elbeuf*, *Vautier* the King's first Physician, and others, to ruin the Cardinal; of which that Prelate having Intelligence from the Spies he always kept about his Majesty, he determin'd upon the King's Recovery, which happen'd not long after, to endeavour the Destruction of all that had been concern'd in the Design against him, and few of them escap'd his Vengeance.

The Queens did not want sufficient Provocations to study the Ruin of the Cardinal; he was perpetually suggesting to the jealous timorous

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rous King, that they had a Design against his Majesty ; that the Queen-Mother had more Affection for the Duke of *Orleans* than for him, and was perpetually consulting Fortune-tellers to know when he shou'd come to the Crown ; that the Queen-Consort was uneasy at her having no Children, and had Thoughts of marrying the Duke of *Orleans* in case of the King's Death : and his Majesty really believ'd these Calumnies, while on the other hand, all that the two Queens cou'd say against the Cardinal had no effect upon him. The Court being arriv'd at *Paris*, things came to an open Rupture between the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal ; she proceeded so far as in the King's Presence to call him Cheat, Ingrate, Malicious, the Wickedest Man in the Kingdom, and Disturber of the publick Peace ; and turning to the King told him, that was the Man who wou'd take the Crown from his Head and give it to Count *Soissons*, who was about to marry his Niece : But the King replied, the Cardinal was an honest Man, and had serv'd him faithfully ; that she had disoblig'd him, and put him to the utmost Torture, and he cou'd never forget the Affliction she had given him ; whereupon the Cardinal retir'd, and the King soon after follow'd him, saying as he left her Cabinet, that he had had too much Patience.

The Cardinal gets the better of the Queen-Mother.

The King soon after came to a Resolution to make the Queen-Mother Prisoner ; but as she had a great Authority in *Paris*, the Cardinal advis'd his Majesty to remove to Compeigne, where it wou'd be much easier to seize her, and the Queen, who had no Suspicion of the Design, follow'd the King thither. On the 23d of February 1630-31, the King and

1631;

The Queen-Mother seiz'd

She e-
scapes to
Flanders.

Cardinal return'd early in the Morning to *Paris*, having order'd five hundred Horse to surround *Compeign*, and not permit the Queen to stir from thence. When the Queen was inform'd the Court was gone without her, and saw herself surrounded with Soldiers, she was out of all Patience, and vented her Spleen against the Cardinal in such Terms as the case deserv'd. She wrote to the King also to justify her Conduct; but he was so influenc'd by the Cardinal and his Creatures, who continually besieg'd his Majesty, that he wou'd not open her Letters. The Queen receiving Intelligence that the Cardinal was sending twelve hundred Horse to remove her from *Compeigne* to some other place, where she shou'd be more closely confin'd, found means to make her Escape, and retir'd to *Flanders*, where she was kindly receiv'd by the Infanta, who had the Government of the *Netherlands*. This, 'tis said, was what the Cardinal most desir'd, for having charg'd her frequently with being in the *Spanish* Interest, the King look'd upon her retiring to *Flanders* to be a Demonstration of it. The Cardinal had order'd the Guards, it seems, to give the Queen an Opportunity of escaping, or it had been very easy for him to have prevented it, but he thought she would be able to do him less Mischief abroad than at Court. The Duke of *Orleans* also retir'd out of *France* about the same time, having first sent a Memorial to the Parliament of *Paris*, wherein he declares the reason of his leaving the Kingdom to be the Attempts the Cardinal had made against his Person and that of the Queen-Mother, in order to render himself Master of the Kingdom.

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The King having publish'd an Edi&t declaring the Adherents of the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans* guilty of High Treason, sent it to the Parliament of *Paris* to be confirm'd ; which they refus'd to comply with till the Parties charg'd with the Crime had been heard before them. Whereupon *Richlieu* prevail'd with the King to send for the Parliament to the *Louvre*, and the Keeper in his Majesty's Name let them know, that their Authority extended only to Private Right and not to Matters of State, the Cognizance whereof belong'd only to their Sovereign. Then the King order'd a Decree of the Council to be enter'd in the Parliament Register, which prohibited that Court to deliberate for the future on Declarations concerning Affairs of State ; and to shew his Displeasure at their Presumption, suspended and banish'd two of the Presidents of the Chamber of Inquests. The King also strictly forbid all Persons to keep any Correspondence with the Queen-Mother or the Duke of *Orleans*, and declared all their Mannors Lands and Tenements forfeited to the Crown.

The Parliament forbid to meddle with Affairs of State.

The Cardinal having thus gratified his Revenge on the Queen-Mother and Monsieur, obtain'd a Grant of the King for erecting his Lands of *Richlieu* into a Dutchy and Peerage. He was also made Governor of the Province of *Britany*, which he suggested was very proper for him, as he was Superintendant of Trade and Navigation, because the Ports of *Britany* lie extremely convenient for the carrying on a foreign Trade : and from this time he obtain'd the Title of *the Cardinal Duke*.

The Cardinal created a Duke and Peer.

The

The Prince of *Conde* and the other Grands finding this Prelate so firmly establish'd in the King's Favour, that the united Interests of the Queen-Mother and the Duke of *Orleans* cou'd not prevail against him, but that their Opposition to his Schemes had occasion'd their Destruction, courted *Richlieu* in the most abject manner: The Prince particularly went from Province to Province to execute his Orders, and publish the Praises of this Minister: In a Speech to the States of *Britany* he dwells much on the Capacity, the Valour and great Services of the Cardinal; he tells them he had confounded Heresy, pull'd down and defeated Rebellion, extended the Limits of the Kingdom, &c. and might have added, that he had obtain'd an entire Conquest over the Liberties of the People, and rendred the Assemblies of the States and Parliaments entirely useless.

1632.

He tries
the Peers
by a spe-
cial Com-
mission
and not in
Parlia-
ment.

Richlieu still continued to pursue the Friends and Adherents of the Duke of *Orleans* with the utmost Severity, particularly the Duke of *Lorrain*, from whom he took several Towns and ravag'd the Country, because he apprehended that Prince to be in Monsieur's Interest: He oblig'd him also to renounce all Treaties and Alliances with the Enemies of the Court. Then he erected a Court of Justice to try the Adherents of the Queen-Mother and the Duke, and oblig'd the Parliament of *Paris* to consent to this manner of proceeding, notwithstanding they had remonstrated against it, and alledged that Peers cou'd only be try'd in Parliament. The Marshal *de Marillac* was made the first Victim to the Cardinal's Fury: He had erected one Court of Justice to try him, and because

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because they were not Villains enough to condemn him without Proof, he appointed other Commissioners, consisting of his own Creatures, that he was sure wou'd do as they were directed. Against this Court in general, and several of the Judges in particular, the Marshal excepted on account of their declar'd Enmity against him, but to very little purpose; he was condemn'd to lose his Head. Great Intercession was made for his Life, but the Cardinal was inexorable. The Marshal was executed at the *Greve*, protesting his Innocence; and it seems his greatest Crime was his advising the Queen to apprehend the Cardinal, when the King lay dangerously ill at *Lyons*; which was never to be forgiven.

In the mean time the Duke of *Orleans* enter'd *France* in a hostile manner at the Head of two thousand Horse, declaring that he had taken Arms to procure a Redress of the Peoples Grievances and Oppressions under the Cardinal's Administration. He was join'd by about three thousand Foot in *Auvergne*, but the Provinces were generally cautious of rising in his Favour, having seen so many Instances of the Cardinal's Vengeance.

The D. of
Orleans
in Arms.

The King on the other hand rais'd two Armies and sent them against the Duke, and at the same time publish'd an Edict, declaring that the Male Administration and Oppressions mention'd in the Duke's Declaration were all pretended and fictitious; that the Kingdom was never in so powerful and flourishing a Condition as at this time, and that the Cardinal's Merits and Services were so well known, that none but those who envy'd his Majesty's Glory and Prosperity wou'd endeavour

your to defame him ; declaring Monsieur's Adherents again guilty of High Treason, and that they shou'd be proceeded against with the utmost Severity.

The
Dukes of
Orleans
and Mont-
merency
defeated
and the
last
beheaded.

These Declarations were soon follow'd by Actions. The Duke of *Montmerency*, who had surrender'd his Office of High Admiral in hopes of having that of Constable conferr'd upon him, became Malecontent on his being disappointed by the Cardinal, and rais'd Forces in the Province of *Languedoc*, of which he was Governor, to join the Duke of *Orleans*: He procur'd the States of *Languedoc* also to espouse his Interest, and promise him to raise Money and to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes: But coming to an Engagement afterwards with the King's Troops, the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Montmerency* were defeated, and the latter of them made Prisoner. Whereupon Monsieur thought fit to submit and lay down his Arms ; but the Cardinal causing his Friend the Duke of *Montmerency* to be condemn'd and executed as a Traytor, notwithstanding his Intercession to spare him, his Highness retir'd in discontent to the *Low Countries* again, where he was well receiv'd by the *Spaniards*.

Gustavus
Adolphus
kill'd.

The victorious *Gustavus Adolphus* was kill'd on the sixth of *November* this Year at the Battle of *Lutzen*. The *French*, as has been related already, had enter'd into an Alliance with him and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, to whom they granted considerable Pensions to support them against the Emperor, tho' *France* was then at Peace with his Imperial Majesty ; but *Gustavus Adolphus* meeting with surprizing Success in the *German War*, Cardinal *Richlieu* became no less jealous of him

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him than of the House of *Austria*. However, upon the Death of the King of *Sweden* the case seem'd to be alter'd, and the Cardinal resolv'd to assist the *Swedes* in *Germany* more vigorously than he had done, to prevent their sinking; for had the *Swedes* been forc'd to accommodate Matters with the Emperor, he wou'd infallibly have fallen upon *France* with all his Forces: He cou'd not be ignorant of the Share *France* had in maintaining the War against him, tho' there was not any War declar'd between these two Powers at this time. The Cardinal therefore promis'd to continue the Payment of a million of Livres annually to *Sweden*, and the Regency of that Kingdom on the other hand engaged not to make Peace with the Emperor without the Consent of *France*. The Cardinal also concluded a Treaty of much the same nature with the States General and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, whereby he found full Employment for the House of *Austria*, without entring into a formal War. About the same time he procur'd himself to be made a Knight of the *Holy Ghost*, and seem'd to be as proud of the Blue Ribbon as some modern Statesmen are at this Day.

The French assist the *Swedes* against the Imperialists.

While the House of *Austria* was engaged in that terrible War with *Sweden* and her Confederates, the Cardinal took the Opportunity of surprising the *Valteline* again, whereby he cut off the Communication between *Germany* and *Italy*, of which the *Spaniards* made loud Complaints, as they did on their keeping *Pignerol* and *Casal* contrary to the last Treaty of Peace between these two Powers: But it is observ'd of the Cardinal, that he never parted with any thing that he appre-

1633: The French seize the *Valteline* again.

1634.
The
French
seize
Lorraine.

hended was for his Advantage to keep. The Representations of the *Spaniards* on these Heads were as ineffectual as those for their evacuating *Triers* and the Towns of *Lorraine*, which the *French* had seiz'd on with equal Justice, and under pretence that the Duke of *Lorraine* had assisted the *Spaniards*, and had clandestinely married his Sister to the Duke of *Orleans*, the *French* King made himself Master of *Nancy*, the Capital, and all the rest of his Country. Whereupon the Duke transferr'd his Dominions to the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, his Brother, and join'd the Imperial Army with his Troops.

The D. of
Orleans
returnsto
Court.

The Queen-Mother, weary of residing in the *Netherlands*, where she did not meet with that Respect she apprehended was due to her Quality, and being depriv'd of all her Revenues by the Cardinal, made her Submission to this haughty Prelate in the most abject manner, in order to obtain a Permission to return to Court : But the Cardinal, either to gratify his Revenge, or really fearing she might find means to ruin him in the King's Favour, appear'd inexorable, and persuaded his Majesty that he must never expect to live in any tolerable Quiet if he suffer'd her to return to Court, or if she was allow'd her Revenues while out of the Kingdom ; so that this Princess was reduc'd to very great Extremities. But as *Richlieu* was of Opinion the Duke of *Orleans* might embarrass his Affairs more by remaining out of the Kingdom than in it, he consented to his return, procuring a general Pardon for him and his Domesticks except three or four, and a Grant of all his former Revenues and Appanages that had been taken from him, with a large Sum for the

the paying off his Debts and providing his Equipage : He was also to have a Troop of *Gens d'Armes* and another of light Horse for his Guard. However, the Duke thought fit to leave Madam his Wife in the *Low Countries*, not daring to trust her in the Power of the Cardinal, who seem'd determin'd to get his Marriage with her declar'd void.

In the mean time the Imperialists obtain'd a signal Victory over the *Swedes* at *Norlingen*, which gave the Cardinal some Apprehensions of his losing *Lorraine* again, and even of the Enemy's penetrating into the Heart of *France*. Whereupon he sent the Marshals *de la Force* and *de Breze* towards the *Rhine* with an Army of thirty thousand Men, to support the *Swedes*, who put several Towns in *Alsatia* and the *Palatinate*, which they were not able to keep, into the Hands of the *French*, and amongst the rest the important City of *Philipsburg* ; which last gave the Cardinal great Satisfaction, inasmuch as it put him in a Condition to stop the Progress of the Imperialists, in case they design'd to pass the *Rhine* and force their way into *Lorraine*.

The
Swedes de-
feated at
Norlingen.

Transfer
Philips-
burg to the
French.

The Cardinal had try'd all the ways imaginable to persuade the Duke of *Orleans* to consent that his Marriage with the Princess of *Lorraine* shou'd be declar'd null, and believing that the Duke's Favourite *Puilaurens* persuaded him to remain immovable on that Head, he order'd him to be apprehended with another of the Duke's Demesticks and carried to the Castle of *Vincennes* ; which gave Monsieur no small Uneasiness. But he proceeded further, for having summon'd an Assembly of the Clergy to meet at *Paris*, he propos'd this Question to them, viz. *Whether*

The
Cardinal
procures
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sieur's
Marriage
to be
declar'd
void.

the Princes of the Blood, and especially those who stood nearest to the Crown, might marry without the King's Consent, and even against his express Prohibition? To which they return'd such an Answer as it was suppos'd the Cardinal had dictated, namely, That Marriages might be render'd null by antient Customs, founded upon Reason and authoriz'd by the Church. That the Custom of France did not permit Princes of the Blood, and especially the presumptive Heir of the Crown, to marry without the King's Consent, much less against his positive Commands. The Queen-Mother receiving Advice of this Determination, wrote to Rome, desiring his Holiness to prohibit the Clergy of France proceeding in this Affair, because it was notorious that this Assembly was wholly compos'd of Court Bishops, who were ready to declare whatever the Prime Minister wou'd have them, and if he desir'd it wou'd frame another Declaration directly opposite to this to morrow. Monsieur also still insisted on the Validity of his Marriage. However, when he was press'd on this Head, he told his Majesty that if the Pope declar'd he might marry again he wou'd obey him.

The
Councils
held at
Richlieu's
Palace.

Richlieu about this time prevail'd with the King to let the Councils be held at his House, under Pretence of his want of Health, and his Majesty usually came hither from St. Germain's and Versailles. Most People believ'd that this proceeded from the perpetual Fears the Minister was in, not daring to trust himself much abroad, and when he did go out his People were never acquainted with it till the Moment he took Coach; for the Princes of the Blood and the Nobility, whom he treated with the utmost Contempt, as well

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as the People who were oppress'd by Taxes, equally hated him : So that it seems this mighty Authority, founded wholly upon the King's Weakness and a perpetual series of Acts of Violence, was attended with no small Inquietude. He render'd himself dread- ed by every Man, and yet fear'd every Man himself ; conscious that the People, whose Liberties he had invaded, wou'd lose no Opportunity to destroy him. The ill Success of the *French* Arms this Campaign also was a considerable Mortification to the Cardinal, for the *Germans* surpriz'd *Philipsburg*, in which were their Magazines and a considerable Treasure, and afterwards took the City of *Triers*, making the Archbishop of the Place their Prisoner, who was in the *French* Interest : *Worms* and several other Towns also submitted to the Imperialists. Whereupon the Cardinal thought fit to strengthen himself by entring into an Alliance offensive and defensive with the States General against *Spain* (for hitherto he had carried on that War under-hand by supplying the *Dutch* and other Powers with Money). It was agreed by this Treaty to divide the *Spanish Netherlands* between the *French* and the States when they shou'd have made a Conquest of them. The Pretence of the *French* for declaring War against *Spain* was their refusing to release the Archbishop of *Triers*, who had put himself under the Protection of *France*. The *Spaniards* on the other side declar'd, that it was not in reality the King of *France* that made War upon them, but Cardinal *Richlieu*, who had usurp'd the Government of that Kingdom. But whatever were the Grounds of the War, the *French* and *Dutch* having join'd their Forces, amount-

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ing

ing to forty thousand Men and upwards, took *Tirlemont*, and afterwards laid Siege to *Lovain*, which they were oblig'd to raise on the Approach of the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists*. Nor did this great Army perform any thing answerable to the Expectation of the *French* Court, which proceeded, 'tis said, from the Misunderstandings among their Generals, or rather with the *Dutch*, who observing the haughty and imperious Behaviour of the *French*, began to be afraid of having them for their Neighbours, and therefore wou'd not enter upon any considerable Action. 'Tis observ'd also that the *Dutch* so contriv'd Matters, that the *French* were destitute of all Necessaries in their Camp, whereby they lost abundance of Men, while the Forces of the States had plenty of Provision among them.

An Alliance with the *Italian* Princes.

About the same time the King of *France* enter'd into an Alliance with the Dukes of *Savoy*, *Mantua* and *Parma*, whereby the Cardinal propos'd no less than the Conquest of the *Milanese*. The first Enterprize they undertook was the Siege of *Valentia*, but the Misunderstandings among the Generals on this side also prevented the taking of it, and they were forc'd to raise the Siege. It is observable that whatever Powers have enter'd into an Alliance with *France*, unless their Ministers and Generals might govern the Confederacy, and have the absolute Command of the Troops, they have constantly ruin'd the Undertaking, or so manag'd Matters as to be the chief Gainers by it. This is a Truth their Allies have experienc'd more than once. But to proceed. The next Campaign the *French* and *Italian* Generals

1636.

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agreed no better than the former, and the Duke of *Parma's* Territories, which lay next to the *Milanese*, were in a manner ruin'd by the *Spaniards*, while the Duke of *Savoy* and the French General the *Marſhal de Crequi* retir'd towards *Piedmont*.

The *French* had no better Succels in *Franche Compté*, where the Prince of *Conde* commanded, for having laid ſiege to *Dole*, the ſecond Town of the County, he was oblig'd to raiſe it on the approach of the Duke of *Lorrain* and the German Army. On the ſide of the *Pyrenees* the *Spaniards* were ſuperior to the *French*; but the latter prevented their taking of *Bayonne*, which was threatned by the *Spaniſh* Generals. In the mean time the Frontiers of *Picardy* being very ill guarded, the *Spaniards* took ſeveral Towns there; and having paſs'd the *Somme*, put *Paris* it ſelf into a great Conſternation; but the *French* aſſembled their Forces and obliged them to retire.

The Duke of *Orleans* and Count *Soiſſons* now A Con-
commanded the Grand Army of *France*; for ſpiracy a-
the Succels of the *Spaniards* was ſuch in *Picar-*gainſt the
dy at the beginning of the Campaign, that the Cardinal.
Cardinal found it abſolutely neceſſary to place
the Princes of the Blood at the Head of the
Troops, in order to keep up the Spirits of the
People, and induce them to ſubmit to thoſe
heavy Taxes which were levy'd on this Occa-
ſion for the Defence of the Kingdom, though
he was very well ſatiſfied that both *Monſieur*
and the Count were his mortal Enemies; and
indeed the giving them the Command of the
Army had very near prov'd fatal to him; for
conſulting with ſome of the principal Nobility
whom this Prelate had equally diſoblig'd, they
reſolv'd to take him off, and had employ'd
four

four Assassins for that purpose ; but the Princes were so irresolute, that though these Bravo's had surrounded the Cardinal, and demanded the Sign to fall upon him, neither of them durst give it, pretending they were restrain'd by the Reverence they bore to his Character as a Priest ; and while they hesitated, the Cardinal took Coach and escap'd their Hands, not knowing at that time the Danger he was in. Monsieur and Count *Soissons* afterwards determin'd to endeavour the Disgrace of this Minister by acquainting his Majesty with his ill Conduct, which they affirm'd had occasion'd all the Calamities the Nation labour'd under, and particularly his engaging in a War with *Spain*, which he knew not how to maintain with Honour : But the Cardinal being appriz'd of their Intentions, caus'd a Report to be spread that the King design'd to apprehend them ; at which they were so alarm'd, that they both made their Escapes, and left the Cardinal in the sole Possession of the King's Ear: Monsieur retir'd only to *Blois*, and soon after return'd to Court, when he understood it was a false Alarm ; but Count *Soissons* went to *Sedan*, and did not think fit to trust himself any more in the Cardinal's Power.

1637.

The Campaign of 1637 prov'd successful to the *French* and *Dutch* in *Flanders* ; *Frederick-Henry* Prince of *Orange* took *Breda*, and the Cardinal *de la Vallette*, General of the *French*, took several other Towns from the *Spaniards* on that side : But in *Italy* they had the worst of it. The Duke of *Parma*, their Allie, was oblig'd to make his Peace with the *Spaniards* and the *Grisons* with the Assistance of the *Spanish* Troops drove the *French* out of the *Valte-*

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line, which they had been at a very great Expence to take and defend.

Father *Caussin*, the King's Confessor, either concern'd to see his Majesty and the Nation perpetually impos'd on by the Cardinal; or, according to others, hoping to succeed him in the Post of Prime Minister if he cou'd procure his Disgrace, took an Opportunity about this time to lay his ill Conduct before the King, instancing in four Particulars; First, The Banishment of the Queen-Mother, who wanted even the Necessaries of Life. 2. This Prelate's usurping the Royal Authority, so that his Majesty had no more than the bare Name of King. 3. The Oppression of the People, who were reduc'd to the utmost Misery by the exorbitant Taxes. And, 4. His supporting the *Swedes* and *German* Protestants against the Catholics, to the ruin of their Religion in the Empire. And though this Charge was for the most part true and notorious to all the World, such was the Cardinal's Interest with his Master, that he procur'd the poor Confessor to be thrown into Prison, where he remain'd till the King died.

The K.'s Confessor ruin'd by the Cardinal.

The Duke of *Savoy* being dead, as has been related already, and leaving behind him a Son an Infant, to whom the Dutchess his Mother, Sister to the *French* King, was Guardian, the Cardinal oblig'd her to enter into an Alliance Offensive and Defensive with *France* against the *Spaniard*; and sent the Cardinal *de la Valette* into *Italy* to command the Army there upon the Death of Marshal *Créqui*; for 'tis observ'd of *Richlieu*, that he chose to employ Ecclesiasticks upon almost all Occasions, how foreign soever to their Profession: The Archbishop of *Bordeaux* was Admiral, *Valette* General, and

1638.
An Alliance with *Savoy*.

The Cardinal employs Ecclesiasticks in the Fleet and Army

most of the Foreign Ministers in Holy Orders: He either thought these Gentlemen better qualified for Publick Employments, or more devoted to his Interests than other Men. But to return. The *Spanish* General, the Marquis *de Leganez*, finding himself Superior to the *French* and *Savoyards*, laid siege to *Verceil* in *Piedmont*, and took it; but declar'd at the same time, that he came into *Piedmont* and *Montferrat* only to expel the *French*, and not to make War against the Duke; for the Cardinal had insisted that the *Dutchess* shou'd put all her strong Towns into the hands of the *French*.

The D. of
Weimar
defeats
the Impe-
rialists
and takes
Friburgh,
Brisac, &c.

The Car-
dinal's
Weak-
ness.

The Duke of *Weimar*, whose Troops were paid by *France*, engaged the Imperialists this Campaign near the Borders of *Switzerland*, and defeated them, in which Battle the Duke of *Rohan*, who formerly commanded the *French* Protestants, was kill'd. Afterwards the Duke of *Weimar* took *Rhinfield*, *Fribourg* and *Brisac*; and the Country of *Brisgow* and several Towns in *Swabia* submitted to him. In *Artois* the *French* did not meet with equal Success; for having laid siege to *St. Omers* the *Spaniards* march'd to its Relief, and oblig'd them to raise it. It seems the Cardinal, with all his Policy, had a good share of Superstition and Credulity; a Nun who pretended to the Spirit of Prophecy related, that in one of her Visions she saw two Armies fighting near *St. Omers*, and that the King's was victorious; which 'tis said was his principal Inducement for consenting to this unfortunate Siege, for which he was by no means provided. But this was not the Cardinal's Weakness alone; most of the Great Men of that Age seem to have

have had great Faith in Visions, Prophecies and the Magick Art.

This Year the *French* invaded *Spain* on the side of *Guipuscoa*, took *Port Passage*, with several *Spanish* Men of War and Galeons, and afterwards laid Siege to *Fonterabia*, but the *Spaniards* oblig'd them to raise it, to the great Mortification of the Cardinal as well as the Prince of *Conde* who commanded the Army. The King, however, was extremely rejoic'd at this time to find his Queen big with Child, after they had been married two and twenty Years, no Signs of her Pregnancy having appear'd before. This one wou'd have thought shou'd have so much endear'd her to his Majesty that the Cardinal might have been afraid to offend her; but this insolent Prelate having discover'd that the Queen held a Correspondence with her Brother the Cardinal *Infanta* on the Subject of Peace, and that the Letters which pass'd between them were lodg'd in a Closet she had in an Oratory in the Nunnery of *Val de Grace*, he procur'd an Order from the King to seize them, and sent the Chancellor to execute it; but he being afraid of the Queen's resentment, discover'd the matter to her Majesty, and gave her an Opportunity of removing all obnoxious Papers before he came, so that the thing was not attended with any ill Consequences as it happen'd; had not the Queen been big with Child, as said, the Cardinal wou'd have proceeded against her in a more violent manner. Another Instance Historians give us of the intolerable Insolence of the prime Minister, and Weakness of the King, deserves to be related; the King it seems had a Mistress call'd

The Q. of
France
with
Child
after she
had been
barren 22
Years.

The
Cardinal
seizes the
Queen's
Papers

The Cardinal forges the K.'s Hand and alters his Letters

Madamoiselle *de Fayette*, of whom he was infinitely fond, insomuch that the Cardinal was apprehensive she might influence his Majesty to his prejudice: this Lady of a sudden retir'd into a Convent and resolv'd to have no farther Commerce with his Majesty; at which he was much surpriz'd, and being determin'd to know the Reason of it, took an Opportunity to hunt in the Forest where the Convent stood, and leaving his Attendants, had a long Conversation with her, in which he discover'd that one of his Pages who us'd to carry the Billets between him and the Lady us'd to bring them to the Cardinal, who alter'd or suppress'd them as he saw fit, making no scruple of counterfeiting the King's Hand on this Occasion; and it was the unkind Expressions the Cardinal had made use of in these Letters that went under his Majesty's Name to the Lady that induc'd her chiefly to think of retiring to a Convent; tho' he made use of other Means to effect it, for he threatned several of her Friends with Banishment unless they persuaded her to shut her self up in a Nunnery. Notwithstanding all these Provocations the poor King durst not express his Resentment against the high and mighty Cardinal any otherwise than by dismissing the Page that had been his Tool.

Lewis XIV born.

The same Evening the King and Madam *Fayette* had this Conversation, in which they discover'd the Villany of the prime Minister, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Son, viz. on the 5th of *September* 1638, who afterwards succeeded his Father by the Name of *Lewis* the Fourteenth.

Soon after the Birth of the Dauphin the Queen-Mother pass'd through *Holland* to *England* to visit her Son and Daughter there, hoping by the Intercession of their *British* Majesties to prevail with her Son the King of *France* to recall her to Court, or at least to procure a Revenue suitable to her Quality, for the Cardinal wou'd not suffer a Penny to be paid her out of her Estate. She desir'd the *French* Ambassador at the *English* Court also to acquaint the Cardinal that the Afflictions she had suffer'd since she left *France* had inspir'd her with different Sentiments from those she had entertain'd formerly; and conjur'd him to deliver her from the Misery and Necessity of begging her Bread: That she desir'd indeed to be near the King, but shou'd not concern herself in Publick Affairs, and if he wou'd procure her return to Court, wou'd dismiss all her Servants that were suspected by him, and do every thing he shou'd advise her to. But the Cardinal, far from shewing the least Compassion for his great Benefactress who had advanc'd him to the Post he possess'd, consider'd the natural Inclination that Women generally have to revenge themselves, and the Humour of her Majesty in particular, who wou'd infallibly ruin him if it was in her Power for the repeated Sights and Provocations he had given her. Nor was he a little mov'd by his own implacable Malice, who was never known to forgive any one that had offended him, and which alone wou'd have determin'd him to reject all the offers that this afflicted Princess cou'd make him. He caus'd a Letter therefore to be written to her in his Majesty's Name, wherein the King tells her there was no longer room

The Cardinal will not suffer the Q. Mother to return to *France*.

room to rely upon her fair Promises, who had always been accustom'd to dissemble, and that her unquiet Temper wou'd not suffer her to live in Peace at any Place; that if she shou'd come to *France* she wou'd immediately cabal with the Malecontents again, and occasion new Disorders: that he insisted therefore upon her retiring to *Florence* her native Country, where she shou'd receive an Allowance suitable to her Quality; concluding that he thought himself justified before God and Man, as he had done all that was in his Power to give the Queen Satisfaction without hazarding the Peace of his Kingdom.

1639.

The Queen of *England* also wrote to the *French* King in behalf of the Queen-Mother, and order'd the Lord *Jermyn*, who resided at that Court, to use his utmost Endeavour to procure her return, or at least a Maintenance while she remain'd out of *France*; but they cou'd obtain no other Answer than his Majesty had given already. Thus did the Cardinal triumph over the whole Royal Family; the Queen-Mother he had banish'd, the Queen-Consort he rendred suspected to his Majesty as being in the Interest of *Spain* her native Country, and the King's Brother the Duke of *Orleans* and the rest of the Princes of the Blood were charg'd with Designs upon the Crown and us'd accordingly. Not long after the Queen-Mother was oblig'd to retire out of *England* (on account of the Jealousies some People stupidly entertain'd of her Negotiations here) and went to *Cologne*, where she spent the remainder of her Life in greater Want than cou'd be imagin'd, considering she was so nearly related to the greatest Princes in *Europe*, which wou'd not have happen'd

if

if the King and Queen of *England* had not soon after been reduc'd to greater Distress themselves by an unnatural Rebellion.

The Duke *de la Valette*, Son to the Duke of *Espernon*, was the next mark of the Cardinal's Vengeance. He was already fled into *England* under an Apprehension that this Prelate wou'd destroy him ; but not content with his Banishment, he order'd a special Commission to try him, charging him with High Treason in preventing the Reduction of *Fonterabia*. He was summon'd to surrender himself on a certain Day, and not appearing, he was condemn'd to be executed in Effigie, and his Estate confiscated. The Parliament of *Paris* remonstrated against this Proceeding, the Offences of Peers being only cognizable in that Court. To which the King answer'd, they were a pack of ignorant Wretches, and he wou'd make them sensible their Privileges were founded only upon unwarrantable Usage. That by his Prerogative he had a Power of trying Dukes and Peers by a special Commission, and assisted in the Court in Person in order to get him condemn'd : A thing, says my Author, without President in *France* till this time ; but he look'd upon himself oblig'd to execute the Cardinal's Schemes, how unjust and arbitrary soever they seem'd to be.

The Parl. receives further Mortifications from the Minister.

The Dutchess of *Savoy*, the King's Sister, was at this time hard press'd by the *Spaniards* and her Brothers-in-Law Prince *Thomas* and the Cardinal of *Savoy*, whom the Emperor had constituted Guardians of the young Duke. But *Richlieu* refus'd to send her any Re-inforcements unless she wou'd put the strong Towns she was possess'd of in *Piedmont* into the Hands of the *French* King's Troops, which she was at

The French take Possession of the D. of *Savoy's* Towns.

at length oblig'd to consent to ; and this occasion'd the Revolt of great part of the Country, who dreaded coming under the Dominion of *France* ; even the City of *Turin* it self surrender'd to Prince *Thomas* to avoid it, but the Castle was still garrison'd by the *French*.

They get
the Possession of
Friburg,
Brisac, &c.

In the *Low Countries* the Marshal de *Chatillon* was defeated near *Thionville* ; but the *French* Army commanded by the Marquis of *Meilleraye* made themselves Masters of *Hedin* this Campaign. On the side of *Roussillon* the Armies of *France* and *Spain* fac'd each other, but there was no Action of any consequence, unless the taking and retaking of *Salces*. The greatest Success the *French* and their Allies met with this Year, was on the side of *Germany*, where the Duke of *Weimar* commanded a separate Body of *Germans*. This General had possess'd himself of *Brisac*, *Friburg*, and many other considerable Towns in *Franche Compté* and *Alsace*, and happening to die soon after, the *French* distributed their Money so artfully among his Officers, that they deliver'd them into the Hands of the *French*, though the Duke by his Will had given his Conquests to his two Brothers. 'Tis suppos'd that the Cardinal had procur'd the Duke to be poison'd for this very end. Upon promising his Army some Addition to their Pay, he prevail'd on them also to accept the Duke of *Longueville* for their General, and to take an Oath of Fidelity to the King of *France*. By these and other Services the Cardinal look'd upon himself to have merited so much of the Crown, that there was nothing how unreasonable soever that he durst not attempt. He oblig'd the Queen-Consort to turn off her first Maid of Honour, and the Comptroller of her Household, because

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of their unshaken Fidelity to their Mistress, and put two of his own Creatures in their room, for whom her Majesty had the greatest Aversion. He was afraid the Queen might establish herself in the King's Favour now she had been so happy as to bring him a Dauphin, and wou'd suffer none but his own People to be about her, least they shou'd contrive his Ruin. It was his constant Maxim that a Man shou'd never have any Friendship for, or Confidence in those whom he had treated ill. His Conduct was the same towards the King's Mistresses as it was towards her Majesty: whenever he found them like to have an Ascendant over his Mind, he drew him from Paris, either under pretence of hunting, or viewing his frontier Towns, and never let him return again till he imagin'd his Passion was cool'd; and then he often had the Assurance to banish them the Court, and perhaps propose some new Amour to make him forget the former.

Instances
of the
Cardinal's
Power
and the
Weakness
of his
Master.

But to return to military Affairs. The French having augmented the Army of the late Duke of *Weimar* with a considerable Re-inforcement of national Troops, commanded the Duke of *Longueville* their General to pass the *Rhine*, and act in concert with the *Swedes* against the Imperialists; but there happen'd such Jealousies among the Officers, that they effected nothing considerable this Campaign.

1649

In the *Low Countries* the Cardinal resolv'd upon the Siege of *Arras*, which was invested by Marshal *Meilleraye* on the 12th of *June*; but the Cardinal *Infanta* marching to its Relief, *Richlieu* begun to be apprehensive of the Success of the Enterprize, and therefore

order'd another Body of Forces under the Command of *du Hailler* to join *Meilleraye*. The King fearing that *du Hailler* and *Meilleraye* might both be defeated before they cou'd unite their Troops, which wou'd give the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of penetrating into the Heart of the Kingdom, positively forbid *du Hailler* to advance : But *Richlieu* sent him an Order notwithstanding to endeavour a Conjunction, and he wou'd be answerable for his Conduct ; whereupon *du Hailler* chose rather to obey the Cardinal than the King, and meeting with all the Success he cou'd desire in this Expedition, the Town was taken, and the King did not think fit to express any Resentment at the Cardinal's Presumption in contradicting his Orders on such an important occasion ; nor was *du Hallier* punish'd for disobeying his Majesty.

The Catalo-
nians and
Portuguese
revolt
from Spain

The *Catalonians* revolted from *Spain* the same Campaign, and put themselves under the Protection of the *French*, who immediately possess'd themselves of *Barcelona*. About the same time the *Portuguese* threw off the *Spanish* Yoke, and plac'd the Duke of *Braganza* upon the Throne of that Kingdom, who took upon him the Stile of *Don John the Fourth*, in contriving which Revolution the Cardinal is said to have had a considerable share. In *Italy* also the Arms of *France* were very successful. The *Spaniards* were defeated and forc'd to raise the Siege of *Casal*, in which was a *French* Garrison, and the City of *Turin* surrender'd to Count *Harcourt*. The Cardinal about this time had two great Projects on foot ; the one was the Conversion or Banishment of the *Hugonots*, and the other the making himself Patriarch of *France* : but he had too much Business of another

ther kind upon his Hands, and was too little belov'd to effect either of them.

The Queen on the twenty-first of *September* was deliver'd of another Son, named *Philip*, afterwards Duke of *Orleans*. It was apprehended that her Majesty wou'd now have a considerable Influence at Court, but the Cardinal still carried it as high towards her as ever, and, 'tis said, extorted a Promise from the King, that in case he died and declar'd the Queen Regent, he shou'd be the chief of her Council, and the Queen oblig'd to follow his Advice. And that he might meet with no further Opposition from the Parliament of *Paris*, he prevail'd on the King to assemble all the Chambers, and cause a Declaration to be read to them, wherein he prohibited that Body to concern themselves any more in matters of State, and to Receive his Edicts ; not to Deliberate upon them, but to Confirm them. He asserted his Prerogative also in disposing of all the Offices of Parliament, and at the same time deposed the President *Barillon*, and the Counsellors *Scarron* and *Salo*, and some others. He further order'd that the Parliament shou'd give an Account of their Proceedings to the Chancellor every three Months, and obtain a Licence from his Majesty to continue in their respective Functions every Year, whereby the King absolutely destroy'd the Authority of the Parliament of *Paris*.

The Q. has a second Son.

1641.
The Parl. absolutely depriv'd of their Authority

The Duke of *Lorraine* about this time made his Submission to the King, or rather the Cardinal, and procur'd part of his Territories to be restor'd him ; but the *French* still retain'd *Nancy* the Capital, and several other places ; and under Pretence that the Duke begun to

The D. of Lorraine restor'd and driven out of his Country again.

fortify his Towns, and enter into an Alliance with the *Spaniards*, they seiz'd upon his Country again, obliging the Duke to retire to *Flanders*, where the taking of *Aire* by the *French*, and the retaking of it by the *Spaniards*, were the most considerable Occurrences that happen'd this Campaign. In *Italy* Count *Harcourt* took *Coni*, and some other Fortresses, while the *Spaniards* and Prince *Thomas* retook several places the *French* had seiz'd ; but in general the *Spaniards* had the worst of the War on that side. The Marshal *de Breze* was this Year sent to *Barcelona* in Quality of Viceroy of *Catalonia* for the *French*, with Orders to possess himself of *Roussillon*, in order to preserve the Communication between *France* and that Province. About this time *Richlieu* procur'd his Friend *Julius Mazarin* a Cardinal's Cap, who had done him signal Services by his Negotiations in *Italy* while he was Nuntio from the Pope.

Mazarin
made a
Cardinal.

Another
Insurrec-
tion a-
gainst
Richlieu.

Instances
of his male
Admini-
stration.

In the mean time the prime Minister was once more in great Danger from a Conspiracy form'd by Count *Soissons*, the Dukes of *Guise*, *Bouillon*, and many others of the principal Nobility, who being supported by the *Spaniards*, had recourse to Arms. They publish'd a Manifesto, complaining of the Cardinal's Practices to destroy them : They charge him with ruining the Kingdom by unnecessary Wars ; draining the Nation of its Treasure to purchase foreign Towns and Territories at extravagant rates, as *Brisac*, *Philipsburgh*, and others ; squandering away large Sums to procure himself Friends in *Italy* and elsewhere. They shew also that all his Majesty's Allies were a Charge to him, and only made feeble Diversions at the Expence of *France*. That

the

the Cardinal had caus'd the principal Nobility to be imprison'd or banish'd who oppos'd his arbitrary Proceedings, and others had been condemn'd to Death by corrupt Commissioners of his own Nomination. That he had violated and abrogated all the Laws of the Kingdom, under the specious Pretence of asserting the King's Prerogative. That he had robb'd the Provinces of their antient Privileges, and vacated the Compacts made with former Kings. That the Nation was beggar'd by Taxes, and Trade entirely lost by the high Duties on Merchandize. That the Country was ruin'd by quartering Soldiers, and even Tillage and Manufactures at a stand, inso-much that many of the Peasants perish'd by Famine. The greatest part of which Charge against the Cardinal, says my Author, was without doubt very well grounded; but such was his good Fortune, that when the Malcontents had assembled an Army and defeated that of the King's near *Sedan*, Count *Soissons*, his greatest Enemy, was kill'd by a Pistol-Shot after Victory had declar'd for him. It is generally said he fell by the Hands of one of his own Guards, whom the Cardinal had corrupted to take him off in the Engagement. But however that was, certain it is the Cardinal had run a very great Hazard of being disgrac'd if this Prince had surviv'd his Victory, for the King began to be very impatient at the Danger *Richlieu* had expos'd him to by his Oppressions. The Duke of *Bouillon* and the rest of the Malcontents being offer'd advantageous Terms by the Cardinal, consented to lay down their Arms, and the Minister thereupon became as firmly establish'd in his Majesty's Favour as ever.

Count
Soissons
kill'd after
he had
obtain'd a
Victory.

The

1642.

The
French
successful
in Germa-
ny and
Catalonia.

Perpignan
the Capital
of
Roussillon
besieg'd.

Another
Conspira-
cy against
Richlieu.

The Year 1642 was as fortunate to France as any of the preceding. Count *Guebriant* having join'd a Body of *Hessians*, defeated the Imperial General *Lamboy* and took him Prisoner, making himself Master of great part of the Electorate of *Cologn*. On the side of *Catalonia* the French defeated a Body of five thousand *Spaniards*; after which the King and Cardinal march'd at the Head of a great Army and laid Siege to *Perpignan*, the Capital of *Roussillon*. This grand Expedition obliging the French to withdraw some of their Troops from the *Low Countries*, the *Spaniards* became superior here, and took the Town of *Lens*, and afterwards defeated Marshal *Guiche*, which is the only Success they met with this Campaign, and this the *Spaniards* made no manner of Improvement of.

While the King's Troops were marching to the Siege of *Perpignan*, another Conspiracy was form'd against the Cardinal. *Henry Deffiat*, Marquis of *Cinque Mars*, Master of the Horse to his Majesty, (frequently call'd *Monfieur le Grand*), having been disoblig'd by *Richlieu*, determin'd to destroy him; and knowing that the Duke of *Orleans*, notwithstanding his outward Reconciliation with this Prelate, was still his Enemy, easily prevail'd with his Highness to join in the Design. The Duke of *Bouillon* and *de Thou* engag'd also in the Enterprize. It was agreed by them to treat with the King of *Spain* in the Name of the Duke of *Orleans*, and that Ministry promis'd to furnish them with twelve thousand Foot and four thousand Horse veteran Troops, besides a great Sum of Money.

The

The Cardinal was sensible that the Master of the Horse was contriving some Mischief against him, but cou'd not fathom the bottom of it. There was a current Report that the Affection the King had for the prime Minister apparently declin'd, and that the Master of the Horse had much the greatest share of his Majesty's Favour. How true soever this might be, the Cardinal was resolv'd to lose no Opportunity to re-establish himself in the King's good Opinion: While they were on the March towards *Roussillon* therefore, he lodg'd always in the same place with his Majesty, and never fail'd to see him every Morning and Evening, to dissipate by his Presence all the Schemes that might have been laid to prejudice his Majesty against him; and as the Master of the Horse was young and thoughtless, and consequently fell infinitely short of the Dexterity of the Minister in the Art of cajoling their Master, the Cardinal easily broke all his Measures. It is said that the Favourite had several times propos'd to the Duke of *Orleans* and *de Thou* to assassinate the Cardinal, but they wou'd not consent to it. In the mean time the Master of the Horse, who ought to have endeavour'd to preserve and cultivate the Friendship the King had for him, seem'd to take a Pleasure in contradicting him, and frequently absented himself when the King desir'd his Company; and when his Friends represented that this Conduct wou'd infallibly ruin himself and them, he told them that he cou'd not bear the Smell of the King's Breath: So very arrogant and indiscreet was this young Nobleman, even while he was engag'd in an Affair which requir'd the nicest Management. It is surprizing therefore that
Persons

Persons of that Figure as the Dukes of *Orleans* and *Bouillon* were, durst be concern'd in a Conspiracy with him.

*Cinque
Mars and
du Thou*
executed.

Perpignan
surrenders

The
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While the King lay before *Perpignan*, the Cardinal by his Spies at *Madrid* procur'd a Copy of the Treaty between the *Spaniards* and the *Malecontents*, which he communicated to his Majesty; whereupon the Conspirators were apprehended, and try'd by a special Commission, except the Duke of *Orleans*, who betraying his Friends according to custom, and making an ample Confession, was pardon'd. The Duke of *Bouillon* also escap'd with his Life on surrendering his Principality of *Sedan* to the Crown, but the Master of the Horse and *de Thou* were beheaded: after which *Perpignan* having been block'd up till the seventh of *September*, surrender'd, the Garrison having suffer'd extremely for want of Food.

The Cardinal being taken very ill in his Return from *Roussillon*, and not able to bear the jolting of a Coach, contriv'd a kind of portable Chamber, so large that it wou'd hold his Bed, a Table, and Seats for a Friend or two, and was carried on the Shoulders of eighteen Men bare-headed. In this State he travell'd near two hundred Leagues; and as the Machin was too large to enter the Gates of several Towns, they beat down their Walls to let it through, and the Roads were frequently enlarg'd and levell'd for the Ease of this haughty Prelate in his Journey.

As *Richlieu* ow'd his Grandeur chiefly to the Divisions he fomented in the neighbouring States, and maintaining Parties in almost every Kingdom against the Sovereign, *England* among the rest unhappily suffer'd by the

Intrigue

Intrigues of this Minister ; nor was he contented privately to foment the Rebellion against King *Charles* the First, but permitted the Ambassador of *France* publickly to apply himself to that Assembly which bore the Name of a Parliament, and countenanced their Usurpations, of which the King of *England* complain'd to his Brother of *France*, and procur'd the Ambassador to be recall'd. *Richlieu*'s Friends indeed excuse his Conduct in this Matter by saying it was a just Retaliation for the Assistance King *Charles* had given the *Rochellers* ; but the case seems to be widely different, for the Religion, Rights and Liberties of the Protestants of *France* having been establish'd by the most solemn Edicts, which *Richlieu* thought fit to invade, that People had certainly a Right to defend themselves, and the Protestant Powers of *Europe* had an equal Right to interpose and afford them their Assistance. Whereas the Sectaries in *England* without any just Provocation withdrew their Allegiance from their Sovereign, and refused to live in Subjection to him or any other Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, till in the end they entirely subverted the Constitution in Church and State, sequester'd the Lands of the Crown, of the Bishops, the Nobility, and of every loyal Subject, and divided them among their factious Bretheren. But to return to *France*. Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* who commanded their Forces in *Italy* was as successful there as their Generals had been in other places this Campaign, taking *Nice de la Paille*, *Tortone* and other Towns from the *Spaniards*. And now when the Cardinal seem'd to be arriv'd at the highest pitch of Glory, or at least what

he esteem'd such, and was laying Schemes of Universal Monarchy, his Distemper increas'd upon him and put an end to all his mighty Projects. But before I come to describe the last Scene of his Life I cannot forbear giving another Instance of his unparrallell'd Arrogance and Presumption. He was, or pretended to be, afraid of being assassinated by the King's Guards, who had a particular Affection for the Master of the Horse whom he had beheaded; he desired therefore that whenever he came to wait on his Majesty he might introduce into the Palace a Number of his own Guards equal to the King's, which the easy Prince consented to, tho' 'twas such a Proposal, as my Author observes, that wou'd have been construed High Treason in another.

The Cardinal's last Illness.

The Cardinal did not enjoy this Mark of Distinction long, for his Fever and the Pain of his Side encreasing, together with a Difficulty of Breathing, the Physicians pronounc'd that he had but a short Time to live; of which the King being inform'd made him a Visit, and speaking to him with a great deal of Tenderness and Concern, he answer'd, that he took his Leave of his Majesty, knowing he must shortly pay that common Tribute which all Men owe to Nature; that he felt a sensible Satisfaction in reflecting that he had never done any thing in his whole Life contrary to his Majesty's Service, and left France in the highest Reputation it had ever enjoy'd in the World, her Enemies being humbled to his Wishes; and advis'd his Majesty to continue the present Ministry, among whom his Friend *Mazarin* was the chief, as extremely capable of serving the Crown. Soon after he

he receiv'd the *Viaticum*, and as the Curate enter'd with the Host he said, *Behold my Judge, who will soon pronounce my Sentence, I desire with all my Heart he may condemn me if in my Ministry I have propos'd any other End to my self than the Good of Religion and the State.* Being ask'd if he forgave all his Enemies, he answer'd, *That he did it with all his Heart, and after the same manner as he besought the Divine Justice to use him.* And 'twas in general observ'd, that no Man who had liv'd constantly conformable to the Precepts of the Gospel cou'd have testified a greater Confidence in God than this Minister, who had imbrued his Hands in the Blood of the Nobility, oppress'd the People with heavy Taxes, subverted the Liberties and Privileges of the Subject, and fomented Wars and Rebellions in most of the Kingdoms of *Europe*. He gave his Palace with Furniture for the best Apartments and fifteen hundred thousand Livres to his Majesty, which Sum he said had been of singular Service to him in many Exigencies of the State, and advis'd the King always to keep such a Sum by him, to employ on pressing Occasions when his Treasury might be exhausted. He gave large Legacies to his Relations and all who had serv'd him, besides a vast Estate he left to his Nephew *Armand de Maille*. But to enter a little into his Character. The Ambition of this Minister was insatiable, nothing less than the Direction of all Affairs at home and abroad wou'd satisfy him, to which end it was requisite to preserve his Post and make himself necessary to the King; this he effected by engaging him everlastingly in some new Enterprize or other which the poor Prince

was sensible he cou'd not carry on without him. He is said to have laid the Foundation of an Universal Monarchy, and had a Prospect of effecting it by the Ruin of *Spain*, to which he gave two dangerous Blows by supporting the Insurrections of the *Catalonians* and *Portuguese*; and as it was necessary to facilitate the Execution of his vast Projects above all things to secure *France* from foreign Invasions, and put himself in a Condition to pour his Forces into any Country he design'd to reduce, he cover'd her Frontiers on the side of the *Low Countries* where it was most expos'd by the Conquest of *Artois*: For the same Reason he undertook the Conquest of *Roussillon*, which wou'd have been a Barrier to *France* on the side of the *Pyrenees*; and with the like Views he seiz'd *Brisac* on the *Rhine*, and *Pignerol* on the Confines of *Italy*, which he wou'd never suffer the King to part with on any Consideration whatever. And if the stretching the Perogative of the Crown beyond all Bounds, surprising the Territories of the neighbouring Princes by the basest Arts and thereby rendring *France* terrible to her Neighbours, if the subverting the Constitution of his own Country and enslaving his fellow Subjects, were meritorious Acts, he might deserve the Epithet of *Great*, nay, of the *Greatest Minister that ever sat at the Helm*, as his Admirers frequently stile him; otherwise we may still continue to rank him among the Plagues and Scourges of Mankind.

The Q.
Mother's
Death.

The Cardinal before he died receiv'd News of the Queen-Mother's Death at *Colen*, and tho' they had of late Years been mortal Enemies, yet as she was once his Benefactress and

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and had introduc'd him into the Ministry, he thought it but decent to pay some Respect to her Remains, and accordingly celebrated her Obsequies with abundance of magnificence. The King, it's said, was extremely griev'd at the News, and began to reflect with Remorse on the ill Usage he had shewn his Mother to satisfy an inexorable Minister; but *Richlieu* knew how to divert him from these disagreeable Subjects, and appears to have gone off the Stage in full Favour with his Master, and the King according to his Advice advanc'd his Friend Cardinal *Mazarin* to his Post of Prime Minister.

His Majesty did not long survive his Favourite; the Fatigues of his Journey to *Roussillon*, which the Cardinal had put him upon, 'tis thought was very prejudicial to him: He was seiz'd by a slow Fever in *April* following, and perceiving his Health gradually decay, he declar'd his Queen *Anne* of *Austria* Regent of the Kingdom during the Minority of the Dauphin, and under her the Duke of *Orleans* Lieutenant-General of the State and President of the Council, the other Members whereof were *Henry* Prince of *Conde*, the Chancellor, Cardinal *Mazarin* and the *Sieur de Chavigni*. He died on the fourteenth of *May*, in the forty-third Year of his Age, and the thirty-fourth of his Reign; leaving behind him two Sons, viz. 1. *Lewis*, who succeeded him by the Name of *Lewis* the Fourteenth, and *Philip*, afterwards Duke of *Orleans*. 1643. The King dies.

Lewis the Fourteenth succeeded his Father *Lewis* XIV at the Age of four Years eight Months and nine Days, and the Parliament of *Paris* confirm'd his Mother Queen *Anne* Regent during his

his Minority, as the late King *Lewis XIII* had appointed. And notwithstanding the Queen-Mother had been formerly very ill us'd by the late Ministry, yet Cardinal *Mazarin* foreseeing the King's Death, having made his Court to her for some time and procur'd her to be appointed Regent, she forgot the Affronts she had receiv'd, and determin'd to continue him and the rest of the late King's Council in the Administration, to the great Mortification of her Friends who had been Sufferers with her, and had reason to expect to be advanc'd to the principal Posts in the Government. But Princes when their Turn is serv'd do not always remember past Services; and she had this to alledge in *Mazarin's* behalf, besides his having procur'd her the Regency, that he was by all acknowledg'd to be an able Minister and well vers'd in the State of the Nation, which she cou'd not be so well assur'd of in any one she shou'd have taken in to supply his room. *Sequer* the Chancellor was the only Man who was turn'd out of all the late Ministers, which cou'd hardly be avoided as he had been guilty of some Rudeness in searching for the Queen's Letters which she endeavour'd to conceal from the King.

The
French
gain a
Victory
near
Rocroy.

The *Spaniards* apprehending they were superior to the *French* this Year on the side of *Champaign*, laid Siege to *Rocroy*, which the Duke of *Enghien*, Son to the Prince of *Conde*, was sent to relieve, it being esteem'd a Place of great Importance. This young General was at this time but two and twenty Years of Age. He march'd with all imaginable Expedition, fell upon the Besiegers, gain'd a compleat Victory and rais'd the Siege.

He

He afterwards took *Thionville* in *Luxemburg*; and receiving advice that the *Marshal de Guebrian* was hard press'd by the Dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorrain* on the Confines of *Germany*, he march'd to his Assistance, and made them retire in their turn. Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy* and the *French* Generals in *Italy* also took several Towns from the *Spaniards*; and in *Catalonia* the *Marshal de la Motte* drove the Troops of *Spain* before him. The *French* Fleet likewise defeated that of the *Spaniards* near *Cartagena*; so that *France* was every where victorious. These Successes establish'd the Credit of the Ministry at a very critical Juncture, for their Enemies were numerous and powerful, and the least Misfortune wou'd at this time have hazarded their Disgrace. It is observ'd of *Mazarin*, that by ascribing all the Glory of these Actions to the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde*, and secretly creating in these Princes a Jealousy of each other, he had in a manner the Direction of the Council, both of them appealing to him when any Dispute arose. The Civil War continuing in *England*, the *French* Court sent over an Ambassador thither under Pretence of mediating between that King and his People; but in reality to foment their Divisions, for they were apprehensive his *British* Majesty wou'd have taken the Part of *Spain* and the Emperor if he had not been engag'd in these Disputes, or they might with a very small Assistance have enabled him to crush that Rebellion.

The *French* were engaged in another Mediation between the Pope and the Duke of *Parma* they tell us, and ascribe the Conclusion of the Peace that follow'd between them to the

the Address of their Ministers. The Pope it seems had taken the Dutchy of *Castro* from the Duke of *Parma*; whereupon the Republick of *Venice*, the Dukes of *Tuscany* and *Modena* enter'd into an Alliance with *Parma* for the recovery of it. The Duke of *Parma* march'd up to the Gates of *Rome*, and possess'd himself of several Places in the Ecclesiastical State, and his Holiness was glad to relinquish *Castro* on condition the Duke wou'd retire out of his Territories; and this wou'd probably have been the case if the *French* had never been concern'd in the Affair; but according to the Vanity of that Nation, no considerable Event can happen in Christendom which they do not pretend to have the Direction of; and indeed they seem at this Day to have the Fate of most of the Kingdoms of *Europe* too much at their Disposal, whatever they might have then. But to return to *France*. An Insurrection happen'd this Year in the Province of *Rouergne* on account of the *Tuile* or Land-Tax; and tho' the Court had the good Fortune to suppress, it and punish'd some of the Mutineers, yet they thought fit to ease the People this Year of ten millions of Livres, or one million sterling, in their Taxes.

The
French re-
new their
Alliance
with the
Dutch.

The *French* renew'd their Alliance with the States General about this time, whereby the States oblig'd themselves to maintain an Army against the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries* consisting of twenty thousand Foot and five thousand Horse, and to fit out a Fleet of thirty Men of War to block up the Mouth of the *Scheld*, or assist in the Conquest of any Port Town; and the *French* on the other hand agreed to pay them twelve hundred thousand

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thousand Livres. The following Campaign the Duke of Orleans took Gravelin; and the Dutch, Sas van Ghent in Flanders. Upon the Rhine the Imperialists having taken Friburgh, the Duke of Enguien march'd to stop their Progress, and gain'd a compleat Victory over them near that City, and afterwards took the strong Town of Philipburgh; whereupon Worms, Spiers, Mayence, Oppenheim, Creutznach, Landau, Newstadt, Manheim and Magdeburgh submitted to the French. And in Italy Prince Thomas of Savoy, who commanded the Troops of France, took the Castle of Asti. The King of England's Affairs appearing desperate at this time, the Queen retir'd to the Court of France, where she afterwards married her Daughter Henrietta to the Duke of Orleans.

They are victorious in Germany and take Philipburgh and abundance of Towns there.

The Campaign of 1645 was not less fortunate to France than the two preceding: In Catalonia they took the City of Roses, which surrender'd on the 21st of May; and afterwards defeated a great Body of Spaniards: Balaguier and Agamont also were taken. And in Germany the Duke of Enguien on the first of August gain'd a Victory over the Imperialists commanded by General Mercy, who was himself kill'd in the Field of Battle; whereupon Nortlingen surrender'd at Discretion, and Dunkessiel four Days after. In Lorrain the French took several Towns; and in Italy Prince Thomas made himself Master of Vigevano. While the Duke of Orleans in the Low Countries reduc'd Mardyke, Lillers, St. Venant, Armentiers and Meurin (but Mardyke was retaken by the Spaniards). Before the Conclusion of the Campaign the French took the City of Triers, and re-establish'd their Friend the Elector in the Government of it.

1645.

Their Successes in Catalonia and Germany.

In Flanders, &c.

1646.

In order to encourage the *Dutch* to continue the War against *Spain*, the *French*, besides the vast Sums they advanc'd to the States, gave them very considerable Advantages in point of Trade this Year. And while they made a considerable Diversion on the side of *Antwerp*, the Duke of *Orleans* took *Coutray*, *Bergue* and *Mardyke*: and Monsieur returning to Court, the Duke of *Enguien*, who commanded the Army in his absence, made himself Master of *Furnes* and *Dunkirk* by the Assistance of the *Dutch* Fleet; and in *Italy* the *French* reduc'd *Piombino* and *Porto Longone*. There happening a Dispute in a Cavalcade at *Rome* about this time between the Attendants of the Cardinal *d'Este* Protector of the Affairs of *France*, and those of the *Spanish* Ambassador; the *Spaniards* were beaten, and the Ambassador's Coachman disabled, so that the Minister was oblig'd to get another to drive him home; but the greatest Mortification was that the Ambassador was prohibited to dispute the Precedency with the Cardinal any more. To return to more bloody Encounters. Marshal *Turin* having defeated the *Bavarian* Forces, afterwards took *Aschaffenburg*, *Solingenstat*, *Darmstadt*, *Scorndorff*, *Landeberg* and *Lawinghen*; so that the Electors of *Mayence* and *Cologne* and the Prince of *Hesse Darmstadt* found themselves oblig'd to accept of a Neutrality for their respective Territories; and the Duke of *Lorraine* was perfectly driven out of his Country. *Henry de Bourbon* Prince of *Conde* happening to die at the latter end of this successful Campaign, his Son the Duke of *Enguien* succeeded him in his Honours and Estate.

The great
Progress
of the
French in
Germany.

The

1647:

The *Spaniards* imputing their ill Fortune in a great measure to the Unskilfulness or Misunderstandings among their Generals, gave the Government of the *Low Countries* and the Command of their Armies there to *Leopold Duke of Austria*, who in the beginning of this Campaign took *Landrecy* and *Armentiers*, and was about to besiege *Dunkirk*; but the *French* Generals found him other Employment: Marshal *Rantzau* took *Dixmude*, *Nieuwdam*, *Lens* and *Sluice* from the *Spaniards*, and defeated the *Marquis de Caracena*.

The Duke of *Enguien* (now *Conde*) being made Viceroy of *Catalonia* besieg'd *Lerida*; but here his usual good Fortune seem'd to have deserted him, for he was oblig'd to rise from before it. However, the People were so indulgent to the young Hero that they wou'd by no means impute this ill Success to him, but threw the Odium of it upon the Prime Minister, affirming that he had neglected to furnish the Duke with Necessaries for the Siege on purpose to destroy him, because he was jealous of the Power and Reputation he had obtain'd.

The Treaty of *Westphalia* being now in a great forwardness, a Suspension of Arms was agreed on between *France*, *Sweden* and the Regency of *Hesse* on the one part, and the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* and Prince *Maximilian* on the other.

A Cessation of Arms in Germany.

Notwithstanding the Conquests the *French* had made on every side, the Ministry were very desirous of Peace, for the long continuance of the War had brought the Treasury very low, and occasion'd the laying innumerable Taxes on the Subjects, which made them express no small Disaffection to the

1648.
The War
in Catalo-
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Flanders.

The Par-
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Administration. Besides which, the *Dutch* had enter'd into a separate Treaty with the Enemy, and without their Assistance the *French* cou'd not propose to carry on a War against the House of *Austria* with any Advantage. However, there were some Impediments which prevented the conclusion of it till the Year 1648. In the mean time Count *Schomberg* laid Siege to *Tortosa* in *Catalonia* and took it, by which the *French* open'd a Passage into the Kingdoms of *Arragon* and *Valentia*. The Prince of *Conde* also made himself Master of *Ipres* in *Flanders*. While he lay before this Place the *Spaniards* retook *Coutray*, *Furnes* and *Lents* : However, the Prince met with their Army near the last Town, and gave them a signal Defeat.

The Parliament of *Paris* about this time began to resume their antient Authority, which the Ministry were so offended at, that they order'd *Messieurs de Broussel* and *Blancmenil*, two of their busiest Members, to be taken into Custody, and some others were banish'd : But this Proceeding was so resented by the City of *Paris*, that they barricaded their Streets, insulted the Chancellor, and committed many Disorders, which the Government were forc'd to wink at while the War continu'd.

That memorable Insurrection at *Naples* raised by *Massanello*, a young Fisherman, on account of the insupportable Taxes levy'd there by the *Spaniards*, happen'd about the same time. The People gave him the Title of their Captain-General, and in a few Days he entirely subverted the Government. But his Fall was as sudden as his Rise : he was forsaken of a sudden by the Mob, who submitted themselves again to the Viceroy : But

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he continuing or encreasing the Impositions, which were the occasion of their Uneasiness, they had recourse to Arms a second time, and offer'd the Duke of *Guise*, a *French* Nobleman who was then at *Rome*, the Government of the City. He accepted the Command ; but before he arriv'd there the Ministry found means to suppress the Insurrection, and made the Duke Prisoner.

At length the famous Treaty of *Munster*, in which most of the Powers of *Europe* were concern'd, was concluded on the 24th of *October*. The Preliminaries of this Treaty had been debated several Years. The Negotiations were carried on at *Munster*, the Capital of *Westphalia*, and at *Osnabrug*, a Town in the same Circle about thirty Miles from it, from whence this Treaty is sometimes call'd the Treaty of *Munster*, sometimes of *Osnabrug*, and at others of *Westphalia*. It was appointed to be held at two places to prevent any Differences that might happen among the Plenipotentiaries on account of Precedency, especially with the Pope's Nuntio, whom the *Swedes* and other Protestant Princes refus'd to have any Commerce with ; whereupon their Ministers generally met at *Osnabrug*, as those of the Popish Powers did at *Munster*, which occasion'd continual Journeys from one place to the other.

This Treaty was begun the eleventh of *July* N. S. or the first of the same Month O. S. 1643, so that it lasted upwards of five Years. The most material Articles whereof as far as it related to the Imperialists and the *French*, were, That the Circle of *Burgundy* shou'd continue a Member of the Empire. That the Controversy about *Lorrain* shou'd be referr'd to

The
Peace of
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The
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Articles
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to Arbitrators. That the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire shou'd be re-establish'd in their Ecclesiastical and Temporal Estates, which they enjoy'd before the War. That the Electoral Dignity, with the *Upper Palatinate*, shou'd go to the House of *Bavaria*; but that an eighth Electorate shou'd be re-establish'd in favour of *Charles Lewis*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and his Heirs, who shou'd enjoy the *Lower Palatinate*. That those of the Confession of *Augsburg* shou'd be put into the Possession of their Churches and Ecclesiastical Estates, and enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion.

Territories yielded to France.

That the Right of Sovereignty and other Rights to the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, should be confirmed to, and be incorporated in the Crown of *France*. The Emperor and Empire also transferr'd all their Right of Sovereignty to *Pignerol* to the Crown of *France*; as also all their Rights, Properties, Jurisdictions, &c. in the City of *Brisac*, the Landgraveship of the *Upper* and *Lower Alsatia*, *Suntgow*, and the provincial Lordship of ten Imperial Cities situate in *Alsatia*, viz. *Hagenau*, *Culmer*, *Scletstat*, *Weisenburg*, *Landau*, *Oberenheim*, *Rosheim*, *Munster* in the Valley of *St. Gregory*, *Keyserburg* and *Turingam*, and all the Villages depending on them to the most Christian King and the Kingdom of *France*, with a Right to keep a Garrison in the Castle of *Philipsburg*.

Territories restored to the Empire.

The most Christian King on the other hand agreed to restore to the House of *Austria* the four Forest Towns of *Rheinfelden*, *Seckingen*, *Lawffinberg* and *Walshutten*, with their Territories, Villages and Appurtenances. Also the Country of *Harwenstein*, the *Black Forrest*, the

the *Upper* and *Lower Brisgow*, and the Towns situate therein, viz. *Newburg, Friburg, Eudingen, Kenzingen, Walldkirk, Willingen* and *Brunlingen*, with their Territories and Appurtenances. Also all *Ortnavien*, with the Imperial Cities of *Offenburg, Gengenback, Cellaham* and *Hamorspach*. And it was agreed that for the future the Commerce and Passage shou'd be free to the Inhabitants of both Banks of the *Rhine* and the adjacent Provinces, especially the Navigation of the said River, under the usual Tolls. And his most Christian Majesty in consideration of the Towns and Territories thus transferr'd to him, agreed to pay to the Archduke *Ferdinand-Charles* three millions of Livres within three Years. *The King of Spain* was not comprehended in this Treaty.

France had no sooner concluded a Peace with the Empire but the Kingdom began to be distracted again with intestine Divisions: The many heavy Taxes that had been laid to support the War, but chiefly the arbitrary manner of levying them, had created abundance of ill blood. The Parliaments also, which had been depriv'd of their Authority during the Administration of *Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, enter'd into a Confederacy or *Act of Union* (as 'twas call'd) to vindicate their own and the Peoples Privileges. They receiv'd the Petitions of Grievances which were brought them from all parts of the Kingdom favourably, and promis'd to see Justice done them, whereby they obtain'd the Titles of *The Saviours and Deliverers of their Country*, and those of them that were most zealous in their Opposition to the Court were usually call'd *Frondeurs* or *Slingers*, perhaps from their throwing or slinging at the Ministry.

The Parliaments re-assume their Authority.

Their
Disputes
with the
Ministry.

1649.

Ministry. But the Prince of *Conde* having obtain'd a Victory over the *Spaniards* at *Lentz*, about this time, *Mazarin* and the Court Party look'd upon their Interest to be so much strengthened by it that they ventur'd to seize upon some of the principal Members of the Parliament of *Paris* and imprison them; whereupon the Citizens of that Capital had recourse to Arms, barricado'd their Streets, and oblig'd the Ministry to release the imprison'd Members, as has been mention'd already, and might have carried their Resentments farther had not the Prince of *Conde*, who was equally in the good Graces of the Court and the People, made up the Difference for the present. But it appearing soon afterwards that nothing less wou'd satisfy the Parliament and the People than the Disgrace of *Mazarin*, the Queen, in order to protect her Favourite, implor'd the Assistance of the Duke of *Orleans* and the Prince of *Conde*, but especially the latter, who had such an Interest in the Army and the Kingdom in general, that she did not doubt carrying her point if she cou'd gain him; she spar'd neither Prayers or Tears, the usual Artillery of the Sex, to bring him over: the Cardinal also vow'd perpetual Submission to his Will if he wou'd protect him against his Enemies; and by these and other Arts prevail'd on the Prince to espouse their Cause. Whereupon he threatned the Parliament and City of *Paris* with his Resentment if they continu'd disobedient to the Regent; and advis'd her to retire with the young King from *Paris* to *St. Germain*, that he might block up that City, and make them sensible of their Error. After which, he possess'd himself of *Lagni*, *Corbeil*, *St. Cloud*,
St.

St. Dennis and Charenton, with his Forces, whereby he cut off their Communication with the Country, and stopp'd all Provisions coming to Town; which reduc'd them to great Distress, and made the People alter the good Opinion they formerly had conceiv'd of him.

The Parliament on the other hand charg'd the Cardinal with male Administration, declar'd him a Disturber of the publick Peace, and Enemy to the King and Kingdom, requiring him to leave *France* within eight Days. They also levy'd Forces, and voluntarily tax'd themselves to maintain them; and were seconded by great numbers of the principal Nobility, particularly the Prince of *Conti* Brother to the Prince of *Conde*. But notwithstanding this vigorous beginning, when the City began to be strained for want of Provisions, the *Parisians* thought fit to accept of a general Indemnity, which was offer'd them by the Court, and to lay down their Arms again.

The Parliament oblig'd to submit to the Court.

The Cardinal having obtain'd his end, and growing weary of his Dependance on the Prince of *Conde*, endeavour'd to foment the Divisions between him and the Slingers. He also put the Army under the Command of other Generals whom he cou'd confide in, and laid Siege to *Cambray* without asking the Prince's Advice, tho' he was forc'd to raise the Siege, and had the mortification to see the *Spaniards* make themselves Masters of *Ipres* the same Campaign. The following Winter the Cardinal, in order to render the Prince and the Slingers irreconcilable, order'd a Report to be spread that they had a Design upon his Life; and to confirm him in this

- Suspicion, he caus'd his Coach to be attack'd and shot through, by a Mob he had spirited up, as it went empty through the City : Which Affront being resented by the Prince in the manner the Cardinal expected it wou'd, the People were no longer at his devotion.
1650. Whereupon this Prelate caus'd the Prince himself, and his Brother the Prince of *Condé* to be apprehended, with the Duke of *Longueville*, and sent Prisoners to the Castle of *Vincennes* ; nor did any one attempt to rescue them.
1651. But the Parliament and the Slingers, as well as the Duke of *Orleans*, being sensible how much they had been abused by the Cardinal's Artifices, they all determin'd to set the Princes at liberty ; and this Prelate finding himself unable to resist the general Current, seemingly agreed to it, but thought fit at the same time to retire from Court. The Queen, however, being impatient at the absence of her Favourite, soon made way for his return, putting his Friends into all Posts of Honour or Profit : which so disgusted the Prince of *Condé*, that he retir'd in discontent to *Guienne* and rais'd an Insurrection there. *Bourdeaux* and several other considerable Towns declaring for him, another Civil War was commenc'd, and the Prince, with whom the Duke of *Orleans* and the Parliament of *Paris* join'd their Forces, were at first much superior to their Enemies ; but the Cardinal, who was now return'd to Court, pretending to be desirous of Peace, engag'd the Prince in fruitless Negotiations till his Party dwindled away and most of his Troops disbanded.
1652. The Prince, however, came to *Paris* with the remainder of his Forces, between whom and the Royalists there happen'd a smart Encounter

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ter in the Suburb of *St. Anthony*, and he was so well supported by the *Parisians* at this time, that the Cardinal was once more oblig'd to retire from Court. But the Prince of *Conde's* Party falling out among themselves, their Enemies prevail'd against them, and his Highness thought fit to leave the Kingdom and join the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, who gave him the Command of their Troops for several Years. Whereupon the Cardinal return'd to his former Post in triumph, and became more arbitrary than ever, neither the Parliament or City of *Paris* durst afterwards lift up a Hand against him.

The P.
of *Conde*
leaves the
Kingdom
and com-
mands the
Spanish
Army.

During these Commotions at home their foreign Wars succeeded very ill: In *Catalonia* Don *John* of *Austria* besieged *Barcelona* and took it. In *Italy* the *Spaniards* made themselves Masters of *Casal*; and in *Flanders* they besieged and took *Gravelin* and *Dunkirk*. These ill Successes oblig'd Cardinal *Mazarin* to look out for Foreign Assistance, and *Cromwell* the Protector, as he was call'd, in *England*, being in great Reputation for his Warlike Exploits, he enter'd into an Alliance with him against the *Spaniards*.

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makes an
Alliance
with
Cromwell.

In the Year 1653 the Prince of *Conde* enter'd *France* at the Head of an Army of *Spaniards*; but was so narrowly observ'd by *M. Turenne*, that he gain'd no other Advantage than the taking of *Rocroy*. The Year 1654 was remarkable for little else but the Coronation of the King; as the following was for a Massacre of the *Protestant Vaudois*, in which several *French* Regiments assisted, and committed unheard of Cruelties. The *French* having laid siege to *Valenciennes* in 1656, Don *John* of *Austria* obliged them to raise the Siege, and

1653.

1654.

1655.

1656.

gain'd a Victory over their Troops near that City. About this time *Christina* Queen of *Sweden* arrived at *Paris*, having resign'd her Crown to lead a Private Life.

1657.

A Misunderstanding happen'd this Year between *France* and her old Allies the States General, on account of some *French* Ships the *Dutch* had taken in the *Mediterranean*, said to have committed several Acts of Piracy; whereupon *Mazarin* seiz'd the Ships of *Holland* in the Harbours of *France* by way Reprizal, and the *Dutch* took as many *French* Ships as they could meet with; but the Difference was made up without entring into a War. The same Campaign the *French* were oblig'd to raise the Siege of *Cambray* by the Prince of *Conde*; but they made themselves Masters of *Montmedy* in *Luxemburg*: And now being join'd by six thousand of *Cromwell's* veteran Troops they became superior to the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*. By one of the Articles between the *English* and *French* they were to endeavour

1658.
Dunkirk
taken and
put into
the Hands
of the
English.

the taking of *Dunkirk*, which was to be put into the hands of the *English*: Accordingly that Town was besieg'd in the Year 1658, and the Prince of *Conde* and Don *John* of *Austria* marching to the Relief of it, were defeated by the *French* and *English*; after which the Town surrender'd and receiv'd an *English* Garrison, as had been stipulated. But I should have remembred that the preceding Year *Blake* the Admiral of the *English* fell upon the *Spanish* Fleet and Galeons at the *Canaries*, and burnt them all, while they lay under the command of the Forts upon the Island; which was look'd upon as a very desperate Action, such a thing not having been heard of at that time of day, as attacking a Fleet defended by Castles and Batteries

teries

eries on Shore, though now it is become very usual.

Most Writers take notice of the Figure *Cromwell*, the *Protector of the Commonwealth of England*, as he was call'd, made about this time. He had humbled the *Dutch* and the *Spaniard*, and made the *French* entirely dependant on him; none of the Powers of *Europe* durst oppose him; and if he had liv'd a little longer, he had laid a Scheme, as 'tis said, to bring all Nations into his Fold, under the pious Pretence of making them Subjects of *Jesus Christ*, whose Vicegerent on Earth he wou'd no doubt have pretended to be, and thus have rival'd the Pope in the Power he assum'd of disposing of the Kingdoms of the World. They tell us, that when the Protestants of *Nismes* in *France* had made an Insurrection, and Cardinal *Mazarin* had sent a Detachment of the Army to cut them in pieces, *Cromwell* oblig'd him to countermand those Troops, and grant them a Pardon: And it was he that oblig'd the Duke of *Savoy* to desist from persecuting the Protestant *Vaudois*; so that 'tis no wonder that the Reformed Churches abroad have his Memory in great Veneration at this Day. Cardinal *Mazarin* complain'd of him *that he would be deny'd nothing*; constantly alledging, *That the People would not be otherwise satisfy'd*. *Puffendorff* observes of him, that in the Treaty of Alliance between *France* and *Spain*, *Cromwell* would not suffer their Sovereign *Lewis XIV* to be stiled *King of France*, but *the French King*; and insisted that his own Name and Stile, as *Protector of the Commonwealth of England*, shou'd stand before that of the *French King's* in the Instrument of the Treaty. This shews what a Prince or Usurper

Cromwell
governs
the Court
of *France*
and most
of the
Powers
in *Europe*.

per may do when he has made himself absolute Master of the Purles and Persons of the People : The Kingdom is then but one great Farm let out at a Rack Rent, and the People entirely Slaves, whose Business in this World is only to support the Grandeur of their Master ; and though Trade and Navigation, Manufactures and Tillage must in these Cases be under the utmost Discouragement ; and perhaps the Produce of the Country not yield half so much as it would if the People were in a state of Freedom, as it is in *France* at this day, yet as the Sovereign is Master of all that's left, he will make a greater Figure among his Neighbours than while he remain'd limited by Laws : He cou'd not bully the World about him so effectually when he depended only on the Aids the Subjects granted him, as when he had made himself Master of all. Therefore it has always been the Practice of ambitious Princes, first to make a Conquest of their own People, and reduce them to a state of Slavery, before they pretended to enlarge their Dominions much by Foreign Conquests. It is not to be suppos'd that any free trading People shou'd be willing to sacrifice their Persons and Wealth for the Glory of their Monarch, as 'tis call'd, in the same measure as he wou'd himself if their Estates were at his Disposal. *Self* will be always at the bottom : The Subject while he is free, will certainly rather lay out part of his Money in Trade and Commerce, in encreasing his own Estate and supporting his Family, than give the Whole to encourage the Ambitious Views of a Vain-glorious Prince, or his Rapacious Ministers. And this is the Reason that Princes and their Favourites too often look upon the

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the People as their Enemies : They have no Notion of governing with a limited Authority, nor can enjoy any Happiness so long as they can be controll'd, or the Subject retains any part of his Substance for his own Use. Taxes and standing Armies therefore they constantly inculcate are necessary for the Defence of the Nation ; though in reality they are generally rais'd for the Support of an unwarrantable Authority : Either to purchase the Leaders of the People, and induce them to give up the Estates and Liberties of those they represent to the Crown, or to Dragoon them into Submission with the very Forces they themselves have rais'd : And because National Troops are not always found so compliant and ready to execute every barbarous Order against their Countrymen as Foreigners, a good Body of Mercenaries are usually kept in pay as a *Corps de Reserve* in case all other Measures fail. The *French* Princes while they were employ'd in subduing their own Subjects, ever kept a Body of ten or twelve thousand *Germans* or *Swiss* in their Pay, who wou'd cut Throats where they were bid without Reluctance, and destroy whole Towns and Villages if they murmur'd at the Taxes imposed upon them, or refused to submit to the Tyranny of the Court.

But to return. The *French* being now reinforc'd by the *English*, became superior to the *Spaniards* in *Flanders* again, and not only took *Dunkirk* from them, but *Furnes*, *Bergue*, *St. Winock*, *Dixmude*, *Ipres*, *Grammont*, *Nineve*, and many other Places ; and made some Acquisitions in *Catalonia* and *Italy* ; which Successes enclin'd the *Spaniards* seriously to think of Peace, and accordingly a Treaty was set on foot, and Conferences held in the *Isle of Pheasants*, form'd

Towns
taken by
the *French*.

The *Pyrenean*
Treaty.
1659.

by

by the River *Bidassoa*, which divides the two Kingdoms ; the Plenipotentiaries being Cardinal *Mazarin* Prime Minister of *France* on one side, and *Don Lewis de Haro* Prime Minister of *Spain* on the other. This was generally call'd *The Pyrenean Treaty*, the Conferences being held near the Foot of those Mountains, and was concluded on the Seventh of *November*, 1659, within less than a Month after the Conferences began. The principal Articles were, That the *French* King shou'd marry the Infanta of *Spain*, but that both of them shou'd for themselves their Heirs and Successors relinquish all Right and Pretensions to the *Spanish* Monarchy, and the Territories thereto belonging: which was done in the strongest Terms and sworn to.

That the Prince of *Conde*, his Servants and Adherents shou'd be receiv'd into Favour ; the Prince made Governor of *Burgundy*, and his Son the Duke of *Enguien* Great Master of the Household.

That the *French* King shou'd give no manner of Assistance to the *Portuguese*.

That the Duke of *Lorraine* shou'd have his Country restor'd him, but the *French* reserv'd the Liberty of garrisoning some places, and marching through it when they pleas'd.

Franche Comte and *Catalonia* were restor'd to *Spain*, but *Roussillon* was confirm'd to the *French*, as well as several Towns they had taken in the *Netherlands*.

Charles the Second, King of *Great Britain*, who was in Exile at this time, went to the place of Treaty in hopes of getting something stipulated in his favour ; but *Mazarin*, 'tis said, refus'd to see him, and *Don Lewis de Haro*, though he gave him all the Honour due to a crown'd

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crown'd Head, put him off with fair Promises only. Had they foreseen he wou'd have been restor'd to his Dominions in a few Months without their Assistance, he wou'd probably have met with a better Reception : but Princes as well as common Men, are too apt to neglect and slight the Interests of a distressed Brother.

The Year 1660 was great part of it taken up with Rejoicings for the Peace, and the Marriage between the *French King* and the Infanta. The Kings of *France* and *Spain* met in the *Isle of Pheasants* on the sixth of *June*, and the next Day the King of *Spain* deliver'd the Infanta, *Maria-Theresa* of *Austria*, to his most *Christian Majesty*, and the Marriage was solemniz'd at the City of *St. John de Luz* on the ninth of the same Month.

1660.

In *March* following died that famous Minister Cardinal *Mazarin*, who following the Maxims of *Richlieu* his Predecessor, gave the finishing stroke to the Liberties of *France*, and left his Master the most arbitrary Monarch in *Christendom*. The King, though but two and twenty Years of Age, determin'd to take the Government upon himself, to examine the Conduct of all his Ministers, and suffer nothing to be transacted without his Knowledge. And whereas formerly it was very difficult to procure access even to the prime Minister, his Majesty appointed certain times to receive Petitions himself from the meanest of his Subjects. The Secresy of his Councils is another Subject of Admiration ; for notwithstanding most things were debated in full Council, they receiv'd another Examination in a Cabinet-Council, consisting of two or three select Persons, and to these his Majesty seldom com-

1661.
Mazarin
dies.

The King
governs
himself.

municated the Resolution he intended to take. And as he suspected that he had been abus'd in his Finances or Treasure, he erected a Court to enquire into the Conduct of the Superintendant or High Treasurer, who was sentenc'd to be banish'd, and his Estate confiscated, tho' 'tis said he made a very good Defence; and afterwards the celebrated *John Baptista Colbert*, a private Gentleman, was made Controller of the Finances, the Office of Superintendant being suppress'd. The Farmers of the Revenue also were call'd to account and oblig'd to refund great part of the Treasure they had plunder'd the Publick of: but the Taxes, it seems, were most of them continu'd as when the Nation was in a State of War. Few Princes, after a Precedent of many Years standing, will suffer a Tax to be discontinu'd, though the Service be ended for which it was first rais'd; his Ministers cannot want some new Pretence to keep it on foot; and where the Government is arbitrary, all the Reason in the World can avail very little: But in a Free Nation, where the People have the Disposal of their own Money, how can we account for this Practice, unless we suppose that the leading Men receive a great deal more than they give, that they raise Taxes to pay their own Pensions, or they wou'd never consent unnecessarily to burthen themselves and their fellow Subjects Estates? But to proceed. The *French* entered into a new Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain* this Year, by Virtue whereof the Dutchy of *Bar* was restor'd to him, for which he did Homage to the King. An unlucky Accident happen'd at the same time, which might have reviv'd the War between *France* and *Spain*, if his Catholick Majesty had not

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not been very complaisant. The *Swedish* Ambassador being about to make his publick Entry into *London* to congratulate his *British* Majesty on his Restoration, both the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors sent their Coaches and Equipages to assist at that Ceremony; and there happening a Contest between their Servants about Precedency, some of the *Spaniards* hamstring'd the Horses belonging to the *French* Ambassador, and by this Stratagem enabled their Countrymen to move forward, while the *French* were left behind till they cou'd procure new Sets of Horses. The most *Christian* King no sooner receiv'd Advice of this Outrage, but he order'd his Ambassador at *Madrid* to demand Satisfaction: To which his Catholick Majesty answer'd, that he wou'd give his Son-in-Law the King of *France* all the Satisfaction that he cou'd reasonably desire; for he was in no Condition at this time to renew the War, which must have been the Consequence of his Noncompliance.

The Queen of *France* being deliver'd of a Dauphin on the first of *November*, the King on this Occasion compleated the Number of the Knights of the *Holy Ghost*, of whom the whole Complement was an hundred, though at this time reduc'd to forty.

The Gentry of *France* being more addicted to Duelling than those of any other Nation, the King in a great measure abolish'd this barbarous Custom by the severe Punishments he inflict'd on all that were concerned in them, and the solemn Declaration he made that he wou'd never pardon any Person convicted of this Crime. The Punishment was no less than the Forfeiture of Life and Estate in the Offender that surviv'd: the Person kill'd also

1662.
Duels
suppress'd

was hang'd up by the Heels, and his Estate confiscated. This is deservedly look'd upon as one of the most commendable Acts in the Reign of *Lewis XIV*: But the care he took of the Poor about the same time, deserves also to be commemorated: The Harvest having fail'd for two Years successively, and occasion'd a terrible Famine, his Majesty caus'd great Quantities of Corn to be imported from abroad, and distributed *gratis* to the most indigent of his Subjects.

At *Rome* the *French* Ambassador met with another Insult this Year from the Pope's Guards, but his Holiness was oblig'd to beg Pardon for it in the most abject manner. Another Occurrence happen'd about the same time which made a great Noise in *England*, and was variously censured, namely, the Purchase of *Dunkirk* of his *British* Majesty for five hundred thousand Pounds. This was look'd upon as extremely detrimental to the Trade and Navigation of *England*, and laid to the Charge of the Earl of *Clarendon*, though 'tis certain he had the least hand in it of any Person concern'd in the *British* Ministry.

1663.
Academy
of In-
scriptions

The following Year his most *Christian* Majesty instituted the Academy of Inscriptions, whose Business it is to compose Inscriptions and Devices, and perpetuate the Memory of great Events. Accordingly, upon the taking of every Town almost, and every Battle which they were pleas'd to stile a Victory, we see Medals coin'd to set the Transaction in such a Light as might contribute most to the Glory of the Grand Monarch.

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Nothing very material occur'd in the Year 1664, unless the sending a Body of *French* Troops to the Assistance of the Imperial Army against the *Turks*, who were thereupon oblig'd to retire over the *Raab*.

1664.

The Kingdom still remaining in full Peace, the celebrated *Monsieur Colbert* put his Majesty upon encouraging Trade and Navigation, and accordingly new Ports were made, and others improv'd; Shipping was every where built, and such Manufactures prohibited to be imported as the Natives cou'd work themselves; whereby the King prevented very large Sums going out of the Nation, which every Year had been sent to purchase them.

1665.
Trade and
Navigation
encouraged.

A War happening to break out about this time between the *English* and the States General, on account of the Encroachments the *Dutch* had made on the *British* Trade in *India*, the Coast of *Africa*, and elsewhere, the *French* first offer'd their Mediation to compose the Quarrel, and at length join'd the *Dutch*.

The following Year they dispossest the *English* of their part of the Island of *St. Christophers*, and finding afterwards they shou'd be oblig'd to restore it, they destroy'd all the *British* Plantations and Settlements there. In the mean time the *French* King gave great Encouragement to Arts and Sciences, and establish'd another Academy call'd the Academy of Sciences. He also enlarg'd his Harbours, augmented his Fleet, and made large Magazines of Naval Stores, causing his Subjects to be instructed in Navigation and all Marine Exercises, which were very little attended to in *France* till this Reign. He also reform'd several Abuses in the Courts of Justice: But he soon found other Employment,

1666.

Arts and
Sciences
encouraged.

for

1667. *The French King falls upon the Spaniard.* for Philip the Fourth, King of Spain, being dead, and his Dominions descended to an Infant, the Grand Monarch laid hold of this Opportunity to fall upon the *Spanish* Domi-

Towns taken in the *Nether-lands.*

1668.

Peace of *Aix la Chapelle.*

1669.

Paris beautified and enlightened.

nions in the *Low Countries*, which were perfectly unprovided of Troops to defend them. In one Campaign he made himself Master of *Coutray, Dixmude, Furnes, Armentiers, Binch, Aeth, Tournay, Douay, Oudenard, Aloft and Lisle.* At the same time the Royal Canal was finish'd, by which the Ocean and *Mediterranean Seas* have a Communication. The Prince of *Conde* the next Year took *Dole, Besançon*, and all *Franche Comte*. These rapid Conquests surpriz'd the neighbouring Powers, and occasion'd an Alliance to be form'd against France by *England, Sweden*, and the *States General*, which Treaty obtain'd the Name of the *Triple Alliance*, and had that good Effect, that France was content to put an end to the War, and relinquish *Franche Comte*, upon Condition she might retain the Towns she had conquer'd in *Flanders*, and a Treaty was concluded accordingly at *Aix la Chapelle* the same Year.

The War being at an end, the young Monarch proceeded in his Regulations at home; and among others, in rendering the Streets of *Paris* more secure in the Night-time, where Robberies and Murders were more frequent than in any other City; and this he effected chiefly by enlightning it with *Glaſs-Lanterns* hung in the middle of the Streets. He also caus'd the Town to be beautified with elegant Buildings, and the Streets well pav'd. The Roads also, which before this Reign were intolerably infested with Robbers, he render'd very safe, by augmenting the Number of Officers for the Discovery and apprehending

apprehending of Felons and Highwaymen, and ordering them to be punish'd with the utmost Severity.

The *Turks* made themselves Masters of the Island of *Candia* this Year, the Loss whereof is imputed in a great measure to the *French*, who withdrew their Forces from thence they had sent to the Assistance of the *Venetians*, very abruptly. About the same time *Casimir* King of *Poland* having resign'd his Crown, retir'd to *France*, spending the Remainder of his Life in the Abbey of *St. Germain de Prez*.

The *French* King recalling all his Subjects, as well Officers and Soldiers as others, out of the Dominions of the States General, it created a Suspicion that he intended to fall upon them: But he thought fit first to secure himself on the side of *Germany*, by seizing on the Duke of *Lorrain's* Territories again, which he did without the least colour of Right. The following Year he employ'd no less than thirty thousand Men in fortifying *Dunkirk*, and made it one of the strongest places in *Flanders*.

Lorrain
seiz'd.
1670.

In the Year 1672 the *French* King enter'd upon that memorable Expedition against the *United Netherlands* by Land, while the King of *Great Britain* arm'd against them by Sea. The *English* did not want substantial Reasons for this Rupture; the Encroachments of the *Dutch* on the *British* Trade were not to be born, and their Libels and libellous Pictures and Medals on this occasion were still more provoking. The *French* were sufficiently exasperated against this Republick for contriving the *Triple League*, which had put a stop to their Conquests; and the Medal struck thereupon, alluding to *Josua's* stopping the Course of the Sun, which was the *French* King's Device, gave still more Offence.

1672.
The Uni-
ted Provin-
ces invaded

Offence. The Grand Monarch therefore was determin'd to chastise the Insolence of this upstart Republick, as he call'd the States General, who pretended to prescribe Measures to Crown'd Heads, and assume the Umpirage of the Affairs of *Christendom*.

He cou'd not have met with a more favourable Conjunction to invade their Territories than the present, when *Holland* was divided into two great Factions, the one headed by the Prince of *Orange*, and the other by *de Wit*, the last of which had rather have seen the *French* Masters of their Country, than have been forc'd to submit to the *Orange* Party: accordingly they oppos'd the raising Forces, and garrisoning their frontier Towns, till the Enemy was upon them; and which was still worse, several of their Governors and Officers held a Correspondence with the *French*, and shew'd them the way to penetrate into the Heart of their Country. But no Gentleman is more censur'd on this occasion than *Mombas*, a *French* Refugee, who had been advanc'd to a considerable Post in the Army of the States, and constantly betray'd their Councils.

In the beginning of *May* the *French* King having assembled an Army of an hundred and twenty thousand Men, including the *English* Auxiliaries under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, attack'd the Territories of the States in three different parts, whilst the Bishops of *Munster* and *Cologne* attack'd them in a fourth. His Majesty pass'd the *Meuse* at *Vifet* at the Head of forty thousand Men, and coming before *Orsoy* took it in three Days. The Towns of *Burich*, *Vezel*, *Rimbergue*, *Emeric*, *Doetecum* and *Groll*, made scarce any Defence; whereupon the *French* appear'd upon the

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the Banks of the *Rhine*, which it was expected wou'd have put a stop to the Progress of their Army ; but some of the Gentlemen of the Country, 'tis said, in order to ingratiate themselves with the *French*, came to the Prince of *Conde's* Quarters while he lay at *Emeric*, and offer'd to shew him a Passage over the *Rhine* near *Tolhuys*, where the Troops wou'd be oblig'd to swim their Horses but a little way ; and the Prince having order'd the Count *de Guiche* to go with these Gentlemen and sound the River, the passing of it appear'd to be very practicable ; whereupon he immediately acquainted his Majesty with this Discovery, and the Army march'd with great Secresy all Night till they came over against *Tolhuys*. In the mean while the Prince of *Orange* had receiv'd Advice from some Boors that they saw a Party of *French* examining the depth of the River near *Tolhuys*, which occasion'd his sending the treacherous *Mombas* with a Body of Horse to defend the Ford if the *French* shou'd attempt it ; but *Mombas* coming to the place, acquainted the Deputies of the States in the Absence of the Prince of *Orange*, that there was no likelihood the Enemy wou'd attempt to ford the River here, and therefore he thought it more advisable to throw himself into *Nimeguen* with great part of the Troops which the Prince of *Orange* had appointed to defend the Banks of the River.

The Prince however on his return to the Camp commanded *Wortz*, a *German* Officer, to march with a Body of Horse and Foot to *Tolhuys* ; who finding the *French* to be in earnest, begun to throw up Intrenchments to cover his Men, but he had not time to perfect them. The Enemy erected a Battery of Can-

non upon the opposite Bank of the River, and oblig'd his Men to retire into an adjoining Wood, from whence they did not stir till they saw some of the *French* Horse actually pass'd over, and forming themselves; and then indeed they appear'd from among the Trees, and drove those few Troops that had got over into the River again, after which they only discharg'd their Carbines and wheel'd off; whereas, says my Author, had they follow'd them into the River, and not suffer'd any more of them to reach the Shore, they had probably frustrated the Attempt; but the *French* seeing the Enemy remove to some distance, were encourag'd to return to the Charge, and being continually supported by greater Numbers, oblig'd the *Dutch* to retire to their Intrenchments, where, according to the *French* Account, they were ready to have laid down their Arms upon an Offer of Quarter: But the Duke of *Longueville*, who had been drinking hard at *Emmerick*, advancing up to the Trenches, and firing a Pistol, the *Hollanders* believing they shou'd have no Quarter, fired a whole Volley, and kill'd several Persons of the first Quality, among whom the Duke of *Longueville* was one, and the Prince of *Conde* was wounded. This Accident put the *French* into some Disorder; but great part of the Army having got over by this time, they soon rallied, and dispers'd the *Dutch* Forces, becoming entirely Masters of the *Bettaw*, or *Batavia Proper*, by this easy Victory.

The Prince of *Conde* and the Duke of *Enghien* his Son, with many other Persons of Distinction, I perceive, pass'd the *Rhine* in Boats, tho' there were some other Generals, and particularly the Duke of *Longueville*, who had

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had been pretty well heated with Wine, that attempted to pass it on Horseback ; but the Duke was in great Danger of being drown'd if the Prince of *Conde* had not taken him into his Boat. He sav'd his Life, however, to very little purpose, for he was shot, as has been related, a few Minutes after thro' his own Folly, in firing upon People who had already submitted. As for the *Grand Monarch*, who assum'd all the Glory of this Action to himself, he came over afterwards very prudently in a Boat, when the Danger was past.

The Consequence of this Victory was very great, for the Prince of *Orange* immediately quitted the Banks of the *Iffel*, and left all the Towns on that River expos'd to the Enemy : *Doesbergh*, *Nimeguen*, *Swol*, *Deventer*, *Grave*, *Arnheim*, *Skenk*, *Crevecour*, and even *Utrecht*, submitted in a few Days, and in less than two Months the King found himself Master of three entire Provinces, *viz.* *Gelderland*, *Over-issel* and *Utrecht* ; and the *French* King actually kept his Court in the last mention'd City this Summer. The *Germans* in the mean time being allarm'd at this surprizing Success, enter'd into a Confederacy with the *States General* and *Spain* against the *French* ; but the *Dutch* were so hard press'd notwithstanding, that they were forc'd to break down their Dams and lay their Country under Water, that they might be in a Condition to wait for the Reinforcements which were marching to their Assistance from all parts.

At length the *German* Forces having join'd the Prince of *Orange*, they laid Siege to *Bon* and took it, and thereby in a great measure cut off the Communication between *France* and *Holland*. The *English* also shewing an In-

Three
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Provinces
submit to
the *French*

1673.

clination to make Peace with the *Dutch* at the same time, the *Grand Monarch* thought it convenient to quit all his boasted Conquests, except *Maestricht*, and retire into *Flanders*. As to the rest of the Occurrences that happen'd during this War till the Peace of *Nimeguen*, where the *English* acted the part of Mediators, they have already been related in the *Modern History of the Netherlands or Germany*, and therefore I shall not enlarge upon them here; but content my self with giving the Substance of the principal Articles of that Treaty.

1678.
The
Treaty of
Nimeguen.

By the Treaty between *France* and the States General, concluded the tenth of *August* 1678, it was agreed that each Party shou'd retain what they were respectively possess'd of, only the *French* were to restore *Maestricht* with its Dependancies to the *Dutch*; which indeed was all the *French* retain'd of their mighty Conquests. And by a separate Article, all the Territories belonging to the Prince of *Orange* in *France*, *Franche Comte*, *Charleroy*, *Flanders*, &c. were restor'd to him.

By the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, dated the 17th of *September*, 1678, the *French* agreed to restore to the *Spaniards*, *Charleroy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Oudenard*, *Coutray*, the City and Dutchy of *Limburg*, *Ghent*, the Country of *Waes*, *Lewwe*, *St. Gislain* and *Puicerda*: On the other hand it was agreed that the *French* King shou'd retain the County of *Burgundy* or *Franche Comte*; the Towns of *Valenciennes*, *Bouchain*, *Conde*, *Cambray*, *Aire*, *St. Omer's*, *Ipres*, *Warwick*, *Warneton*, *Poperingen*, *Bailleal*, *Cassel*, *Bavay* and *Maubeuge*, all which they had conquer'd in this War.

By

By the Treaty concluded between the Empire and *France* on the 3d of *February*, 1678-9, *France* renounc'd all Pretensions to *Philipsburg*: The *French* on the contrary were to keep *Friburg* till an Equivalent should be given them.

The Duke of *Lorrain* was to have his Territories restor'd him; only the *French* were to retain *Nancy*, and Roads through his Country; and to give him the City of *Toul* in lieu of it: And the Princes of *Furstemburg*, who had made so much Disturbance in *Europe*, were to have their Territories and Dignities restor'd them by the Emperor.

By the Treaty between *Sweden*, an Allie of *France*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, concluded the 29th of *June*, 1679, the Elector was to restore *Stetin*, *Stralsund*, and all he had taken from the *Swede* in *Pomerania*. 1679:

By the Treaty between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, concluded the 2d of *September*, 1679, they were reciprocally to yield up all the Towns that had been taken by either Party.

France being now at Peace with all the Powers of *Europe*, determin'd to put in Execution the long projected Scheme of extirpating the long Calvinism, and begun with suppressing the Chambers of the Edict, as they were call'd, which were Courts consisting of an equal Number of Protestant and Popish Judges, who were to see the Edicts put in Execution that were made in favour of Protestants. Those of *Toulouse*, *Bordeaux* and *Grenoble* were suppressed this Year; but I defer a further Relation of this matter till I come to the Year 1685, when the Edict of *Nants* was revers'd. In the mean time *Lewis le Grand* found out a way of extending

The Persecution of the French Protestants.

1680. *The French* extending his Dominions beyond their real Limits as effectually in time of Peace as he cou'd have done by the most successful War. He set up Courts of Enquiry in the frontier Towns, and such Countries as had been yielded to him ; and if he cou'd discover that any City or Province had formerly depended on the places in his Possession, or were under the Jurisdiction of the same Sovereign, he claim'd them as of Right belonging to him ; and to these Encroachments he gave the Title of **RE - U N I O N S**. By the same Rule he might have extended his Jurisdiction over most of the Kingdoms of *Europe* ; for, according to the *French* Account, they were part of their Empire, and formerly dismember'd from it. Had their Scheme of Universal Monarchy succeeded therefore, they wou'd have told us, no doubt, that the reducing the rest of *Europe* to the Obedience of their Monarch wou'd have been but an Act of Justice.

The first that felt the Effects of this piece of *French* Usurpation, were the Ten Free Imperial Cities of *Alsace* : That Country had been yielded to the *French* by the Treaty of *Munster*, with an exprefs Exception of the Rights and Privileges of these Cities, which they were to have enjoy'd in the same manner under the Protection of *France* as they had formerly done under the Emperor : But their Privileges were very little regarded. The Court erected at *Brisac* also proceeded to reunite what they call'd *The Dismember'd Lands of Alsatia* ; many of which lay at a great distance from it : while the Chamber or new erected Court of *Metz* pretended to reunite all

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all the dismembred Fiefs of the three Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*; and an Edict was issued for the Execution of those Decrees. Among the rest the King of *Sweden* was summon'd to do Homage for the Dutchy of *Deux Ponts*; and because he did not appear, that Dutchy was given to another. The Rhinegrave, and several other *German* Princes upon the Frontiers, were oblig'd to do Homage for their Territories, on pain of Military Execution: And finding *Spain* unprepar'd to resist him, the *Great Lewis* demanded even *Ghent* and *Alost*, as Dependances on some of the Places that had been yielded to him; which put the neighbouring Princes in the utmost Consternation, but none of them knew how to apply a Remedy to this general Grievance, for the *French*, as their Attorney-General observ'd, had at this time an hundred thousand Men in Arms to back their Pretensions, and had fortified their Frontiers so well that they defy'd the Resentment of their injur'd Neighbours. The *French* King had built the Fort of *Hunninghen*, within half a League of *Basil* in *Switzerland*, whereby he in a manner block'd up that Republick; and he oblig'd the Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands* to yield up the Town of *Charlemont*. He also fortified *Saar Lewis*, *Landau* and *Phalsbourg*; and having thus strengthen'd his Frontiers, he ravag'd the *German* and *Spanish* Territories, and rais'd Contributions in them whenever he saw fit on one Pretence or other; insomuch that they had much better have been in a State of actual War, where they might

might have been at liberty to make Reprisals. In the same insolent manner he oblig'd the *Spaniard* to relinquish his Titles of Duke and Earl of *Burgundy*; and gave Orders to his Commanders at Sea to force their Ships to strike their Flags to those of *France*.

The Protestants excluded places of Profit.

While he thus bullied the Princes of *Europe*, he proceeded to mortifie the poor Protestants at home, and among other Edicts publish'd against them, he excluded them from holding Places of Profit; and order'd, that where any Persons had been born Protestants and turn'd *Roman* Catholicks, if they afterwards return'd to the Protestant Communion again, they shou'd be treated as Apostates.

1681.
Application to Naval Affairs.

But as nothing took up more of the Monarch's Care and Time than the establishing a Royal Navy superior to any of the Maritime Powers, we see him about this time enlarging and fortifying his two principal Harbours of *Toulon* and *Brest*, erecting Magazines, Docks and Yards for the building and careening of Ships, encouraging the Mathematicks and all other Sciences that might improve Navigation; and 'tis said, that there were enroll'd this Year no less than sixty thousand Seamen to serve in the Ships of War, besides what were necessary for the Merchants Service. But these must be many of them Land-men, for the Trade of *France* was never considerable enough to furnish the Royal Navy with so large a Compliment.

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The two important Towns of *Strasburg* and *Casal*, the one in *Alsace* and the other in *Italy*, were this Year surpriz'd, or rather purchas'd, by the *French*. The Burgomaster and many other of the leading Men of *Strasburg* being corrupted with *French Money*, open'd their Gates to the Forces of *France*, who at a time concerted between them surrounded the Town : and when the Emperor complain'd of this as a Violation of the Peace, he was answer'd, That *Strasburgh* being the Metropolis of *Alsatia*, belong'd to *France* by the Treaty of *Munster* ; and the reason he had not made himself Master of it sooner, was because he had been diverted from it by Affairs of greater moment. But being sensible that the Imperialists wou'd certainly compel him to restore it if he did not find them other Employment, he treated with *Tekili* to promote an Insurrection in *Hungary*, while he incited the *Turks* to invade the Empire at the same time. He also enlarg'd the Fortifications of *Strasburg* to such a degree, as to make it one of the strongest places in *Europe*.

The French make themselves Masters of *Strasburgh* and *Casal*.

He proceeded next to insult the Territories of all the Electors which lay upon the *Rhine*, and under pretence of Dependancies, appropriated to himself all such places as he apprehended for his Convenience. He even laid claim to the capital Cities of the three Ecclesiastical Electors, alledging that the Stables of the Elector of *Triers* were built upon Lands which belong'd to him, and that the District of *Ham*, where the best *Rhenish* Wines grow, were part of his Demefns ; and as to *Cologne* and *Mentz*, most part of the Houses he pretended had been built upon Grounds yielded to him by the Peace of *Munster*, and he wou'd

The French K. claims the 3 Cities of the Ecclesiastical Electors,

either demolish them, or make them acknowledge him for their Sovereign ; but the King proposing to get his Son the Dauphin chosen King of the *Romans*, did not think fit to put his Threats in execution against those Electors. The Prince of *Orange* was more severely dealt with, for he seiz'd that Principality and transferr'd it to the Dutchess of *Nemours*.

1682.

The Year 1682 was remarkable for the Contests between the most *Christian* King and the Pope concerning the *Regale*, which his Majesty insisted shou'd extend to all the Churches of *France* without Exception : Nor did this divert him from continuing his Encroachments on the King of *Spain's* Territories in the *Low Countries*, and because that Prince refus'd to submit to all his insolent Demands, he blockaded *Luxemburg*, till the Imperialists march'd with a considerable Army towards his Frontiers, and then he thought fit to withdraw his Troops. About the same time an Edict was published for demolishing all the Churches of the Protestants which had been built since the Edict of *Nants*, with some other severe Declarations against that People.

1683.
The Siege
of Vienna.

The *Turks* having invaded the Frontiers of the Empire on one side, the *French* determin'd to attack them on the other ; but the most *Christian* King receiving Advice that the *Ottoman* Army had pass'd by *Raab* and *Comorra*, and were about to lay Siege to *Vienna* it self, he alter'd his Resolution ; for tho' he desir'd the *Turks* might favour his Projects by making a Diversion, he was not so bad a *Christian* as to wish them Masters of the Empire. Besides had he attempted to distress the House of *Austria* at so critical a Juncture, he must have drawn all the Powers of *Christendom* upon him, and

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and his Name wou'd have been universally detested. He insinuated indeed to the Electors, that the Empire cou'd only be sav'd by his Troops, which lay ready upon their Frontiers to advance against the *Turks*, if they wou'd elect his Son the Dauphin King of the *Romans*; but his Credit was so bad in *Germany*, that they chose to run all Hazards rather than admit a *French* Army into their Bowels, or a Prince of *French* Extraction to be their Sovereign. He had too lately destroy'd the Liberties of his own People, for Foreigners to expect better Usage. The Siege of *Vienna* was no sooner rais'd, but the *French* march'd a great Army into the *Low Countries*, under pretence of seizing *Alost* and several other places, which they pretended were dependant on them. They rais'd Taxes and Contributions on the very Towns they had plunder'd, and carried off all the Corn and Cattle they found in the Country to their Magazines. They prohibited the manuring the Ground, and seiz'd all the Instruments of Husbandry. Nor were these Outrages confin'd to the District of *Alost* and the places they pretended a Right to, the Dutchies *Limburg* and *Guelders* suffer'd no less than the former; and according to the *Spanish* Minister, who then resided at the Diet of *Ratisbon*, such great and terrible Desolations had not been seen during the late War, as were exercis'd by the *French* on this Occasion. Nor were they contented with plundering the open Towns, but afterwards made themselves Masters of *Courtray* and *Dixmude*, and bombard-ed the Town of *Luxemburg*.

About the latter end of this Year the *French* King establish'd a Nursery of Marine Officers, as he had done of *Cadets* or younger Brothers

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Nurseries
of Officers
for the Sea
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the Service,

the preceding Year for the Land Service: Those appointed to serve in Men of War are denominated *The Marine Guards*, and those employ'd in the Gallies *The Guards of the Standard*, and are in all about eight hundred, entertain'd both at Sea and Land at the King's Charge, and being distributed in all the Ports of *France*, are taught Navigation, Fencing, and all Gentleman-like Exercises.

1684.
Genoa bom-
barded.

As the Republick of *Holland* had already felt the Fury of the most *Christian* King's Arms, he now determin'd to chastise that of *Genoa* on much the same Pretence, namely, that they did not shew him that Respect which a little Republick ow'd to a mighty Monarch, and particularly that they had not renounc'd the Protection of *Spain* when he requir'd it of them. The *French* Admiral therefore came before the place about the middle of *May*, and the *Genoese* refusing to submit to the exorbitant Demands of his Master, he threw ten thousand Bombs into the Town, burnt great part of it, and amongst the rest the Doge's Palace; after which the Wind growing very high, the *French* Fleet were forc'd to leave the Coast. However, the *Genoese* fearing another Visit, thought fit the following Year to submit to his Majesty.

Luxemburg
taken by
the *French*.

In the *Low Countries* the *French* besieg'd and took *Luxemburg*, after which they were contented to make a Truce with *Spain* for twenty Years, in order, I presume, to execute their grand Project at home, of extirpating the Protestant Religion. The Scheme for effecting this, it seems, had been laid by the general Assembly of the *Gallick* Church that met in the Year 1661, and every Year after some new Encroachments had been made on the Liber-

ties

ties and Privileges of the Reformed, though it 'twas not till this fatal Year that they thought fit to repeal the **EDICT OF NANTS** in exprefs Terms. 1685.

Massacres and Burnings, which had been practis'd by their Ancestors, as well as the *Spaniards*, for the extirpating Heresy, had not succeeded to their Expectation : On the contrary, both in *France* and the *Low Countries* the numbers of the Protestants had rather been multiplied than lessen'd by the Exercise of those Severities ; they thought it advisable therefore to proceed gradually, and by new Edicts from time to time to deprive them of one Privilege after another, by which means they hop'd to avoid the Scandal of Persecution. They agreed also to begin with the least material Articles first, and accustom them by degrees to the Loss of their Liberties, that they might be the less shock'd when they found them totally subverted. But one of the first and most effectual ways they took to ruin this People was the prohibiting their **CONVOCATIONS**, or National Assemblies of their Clergy, by which they broke their Unanimity, and render'd them a defenceless Body. It has been the Policy of all Ages to divide a Party that is not otherwise to be forc'd ; and wherever Churches are restrain'd from meeting and debating upon their common Interests, their Ruin is not far off. What must a Church then establish'd by the Laws of the Land apprehend, when all her Enemies, the most impious Sectaries, and even those who deny the fundamental Articles of the *Christian* Faith, are permitted and encourag'd to hold their National Assemblies, while she alone is tantaliz'd with a mock Summons from time

The Per-
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of the
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Steps taken to destroy the Hugonots.

time to time, and never suffer'd to meet or consult about her Interests? But to proceed. They agreed not to fall upon all the Churches at once, but first to demolish those which had been erected since the Edict of *Nants*; after that to interdict some few others, and to suffer the Preachers to remain in their Cures where their Churches were destroy'd, to keep them from clamouring too loud, and alarming the rest of their Brethren: Shortly after they proceeded to prosecute and banish the Preachers from their respective Provinces, and to prohibit the People to meet without their Ministers. Then they procur'd a severe Edict against those, who having been born Protestants and turn'd *Roman* Catholicks, shou'd relapse; and prohibited Priests and Monks to turn Protestants on the highest Pains. And because Interest is usually one of the most prevailing Arguments towards Conversion, they excluded the Reformed from all Offices and Places of Honour or Profit, while at the same time they offer'd Preferments and Pensions to all that wou'd turn Papists: This took off most of their leading Men, and left them only a defenceless Mob. They afterwards suppress'd all their Academies, Universities and Schools, and took the Education of their Children out of their Hands: and in order to starve them if they still remain'd obstinate, no Man was suffer'd to follow any creditable or beneficial Employment if he refus'd to turn *Roman* Catholick. At the same time lest the Kingdom shou'd be depopulated, and their Manufactures ruin'd by their transporting themselves to foreign Countries, for they were very numerous, and most of them excellent Mechanicks, an Edict was procur'd, prohibiting

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prohibiting them to leave the Kingdom on pain of being sent to the Gallies, as great numbers of them were for attempting it. And all the while, it seems, a great deal of pains was taken to make Foreigners believe that the King had no design to extirpate the Protestant Religion, till the Year 1685, when it was impossible any longer to disguise their Intentions.

They threw off the Mask at this time with Witness, for they employ'd their whole Army in forcing the Reformed to turn *Roman* Catholics. *Boufflers*, an Officer of a brutish savage Temper, whose principal Merit was the ready Obedience he had always paid to the most barbarous Orders of the Court, was first employ'd in *Bearn* to begin the Conversion. The Provinces of *Guienne*, *Saintonge* and *Languedoc* were the next that were abandon'd to the Fury of the *Roman* Clergy and the Troops that supported them, and not many Weeks after the whole Kingdom underwent the same fate. The Intendant of each Province, with the Bishop, went from Town to Town, and having summon'd the Protestants to attend them, let them know that it was his most *Christian* Majesty's Pleasure, that the *Roman Catholick Religion* only should be profess'd in his Dominions ; he requir'd them therefore to turn *Roman* Catholics voluntarily without delay, or they would be compell'd to it by Force : To which many of the People answer'd, that their Bodies and Estates were in the King's Power, he might dispose of them as he pleas'd, but they desir'd their Consciences might not be forc'd, they cou'd not forsake a Religion they believ'd to be true, or Words to that effect : Whereupon the Soldiers were immediately

Dragoon-
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Church
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Variety of
Tortures
to compel
the Pro-
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diately order'd to seize on the Gates and Avenues of the places they had invested to prevent the escape of any one, after which they enter'd the Town Sword in Hand with the utmost Fury, as if it had been taken by Storm, crying out to such of the Reformed as they met with, *Die or turn Roman Catholick*; and it had been a Mercy to some of them if they had been dispatch'd out-right, without undergoing that variety of Torments which succeeded. The Troops being quarter'd in such Protestant Houses as the Bishop or Priest directed, and all the Goods secur'd, the first Days were spent in consuming the Provisions and plundering them of their Money, Jewels and Plate, after which they seiz'd the household Goods and expos'd them to Sale; and if any *Roman Catholick* out of Friendship or Kindred attempted to conceal any of the Effects of the unfortunate Wretch, he was severely fin'd. When this wou'd not prevail on the Protestants to change their Religion, they were abus'd and tormented a thousand ways. Men and Women were hung upon Beams or on Hooks in their Chimneys by their Hair and Feet, and smoak'd with Wisps of wet Hay till they were almost suffocated; and if they promis'd to abjure their Religion, and refus'd to sign the Instrument of Abjuration when they were taken down, they were hung up again. Others were thrown into Fires kindled on purpose, and after they were desperately scorch'd, let down by Ropes into Wells, it being demanded of them all the while if they wou'd change their Religion. They tied People to Tables, and pour'd Wine down their Throats till they said they wou'd turn. They stript Men and Women naked, and in that Condition

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Condition tied them together. Some were stuck with Pins from Head to Foot, cut with Pen-Knives, or taken by the Nose with red hot Tongs, and in that manner led about till they promis'd to go to Mass; and being dragg'd half dead to Churches, their Presence there was sometimes taken for an Abjuration. But the common Torture, and that which seems to be purely of *French* Invention, was the keeping People awake for a Week together, either by pinching them, dashing Water in their Faces, plucking off the Hairs of their Beards, and drumming in their Ears till they had almost lost their Senses, and then no wonder if they chose any Religion that was offer'd them. Those that have been Proof against every other studied Cruelty, have been overcome by this. The Torment of being thus kept from Sleep, 'tis said, is inexpressible. But it was not only upon those in Health that they exercis'd this piece of Tyranny, for where People of either Sex lay ill of Fevers or other violent Diseases, they wou'd bring seven or eight Drums to the Bed-side, and drum till they made them distracted or renounc'd their Religion. In some places they wou'd bind the Husband or the Father Hand and Foot, and ravish the Wife or Daughter before their Faces; tho' the *Hugonots* acknowledge that Rapes were not allow'd of every where. I shall mention but two or three Species of Torture more which were executed upon the miserable Protestants, and these were the tearing off the Nails of their Fingers and Toes; blowing them up with Bellows till they were ready to burst, and burning the Soles of their Feet with red hot Shovels. *Tantum Religio potuit.* But surely no Persuasion can deserve

the Name of Religion which inspires its Voracious with such barbarous Principles. True Religion, and especially the *Christian*, teaches universal Love and Benevolence even towards our greatest Enemies. But to return. If no Tortures cou'd induce the miserable *Hugonots* to change their Religion, they shut them up in loathsome Dungeons, where they were suffer'd to see none but their Tormentors. In the mean time their Houses were demolish'd, their Woods and Lands wasted, if they had any, and their Wives and Children confin'd in Monasteries; and those that endeavour'd to escape were shot like wild Beasts. Nor was this the case only of the meanest People, Men of Quality and Estates were treated no better. Ladies of Distinction had their Necks and Faces gash'd and scarr'd with Knives or Swords to render them deform'd; neither Age, Sex or Beauty cou'd move their inhuman Persecutors to spare them. And when some of them fled to *Paris* to avoid these Outrages, believing that the Court cou'd never countenance such Barbarities, they were commanded to leave the City within fifteen Days, and return to their own Houses, and all People were prohibited to entertain or lodge them. Some who had found means to present Petitions to the King were sent to the *Bastile*: And what seems extremely hard, notwithstanding the Master of the House renounc'd his Religion, the Soldiers were quarter'd upon him till the whole Family comply'd. The Priests who attended the Dragoons on these Occasions requir'd no more of the Convert at first than this Declaration, *viz.* *I do acknowledge the Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church as it was in the Time of the Apostles, and I renounce*
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and abjure all the Errors that have crept into it since that time. And as many of them did not scruple this, they afterwards made them subscribe another, viz. *That of their own Motion, without any Force, Compulsion or Violence, they had embraced the Catholick Faith.* In which there does not seem to be any great harm neither; but if any one profess'd the Protestant Religion afterwards, he was said to have relaps'd, and was severely punish'd. Thus far the Government proceeded before they formally repealed the *Edict of NANTS.*

This *Edict of Repeal* pass'd the Seals on the 18th of *October*, 1685, and was ratified by the Parliament of *Paris* on the 22d of the same Month; after which it was sent to all the other Parliaments of the Kingdom to be confirm'd. The Preamble recites, That *Henry IV.* granted the *Edict of Nants* in order to settle his Dominions in Peace, and that he might reconcile those to the *Roman Church* who upon slight Pretences had separated themselves from it; but that his Expectations were not answer'd. That his Successor *Lewis XIII.* having the same Zeal for Religion, had pacified the Troubles of the Kingdom by an *Edict of the same kind* pass'd at *Nismes*, Anno 1629; but that the greatest part of the People having since embrac'd the Catholick Faith, the *Edicts of Nants and Nismes* were now become useless; and therefore his Majesty thought fit to suppress them, as he did likewise all other *Edicts and Declarations* that had been made in favour of the *Hugonots*. Then he orders all their Churches to be demolish'd, prohibits all Assemblies for Publick Worship or the Exercise of their Religion in private on pain of Corporal Punishment and the Confiscation

cation of their Estates. He orders all their Preachers to depart the Kingdom within fifteen Days from the Date of the Edict, or to be sent to the Gallies ; offering a Reward to such of them as would change their Religion. He prohibits Parents to instruct their Children in that Belief, and requires that all Children born after the publication of this Edict be baptized by a Popish Priest, and brought up in that Persuasion. He allows those who had departed the Kingdom to return Home within five Months, or their Estates to be confiscated : and prohibits all others to remove into any Foreign Country, or convey their Wives or Children thither, on pain of being sent to the Gallies. He confirm'd all Declarations against those that had relaps'd. And by the last Clause his Majesty declares, That his Subjects of the Reformed Religion may till God enlightens them remain in his Dominions, enjoy their Estates and carry on their Trades without being molested on account of Religion, provided they make no Profession thereof.

The Church of *Charenton*, and all the Protestant Churches in *France* that were standing, were demolish'd on the very Day this Edict was publish'd. The Preachers were allowed fifteen Days to depart the Kingdom, but were prohibited to take along with them either Father, Mother, Brother or Sister, or Children above seven Years of Age. It is observ'd, that all the Protestant Ministers had not the Courage to go into Banishment, some of them were tempted by the Offers of Preferment, and renounc'd their Religion, to the great Scandal of their People. But though the last Article of the Edict was so clear and

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express, that the Reformed expected for the future to be free from Persecution while they made no open Profession of their Religion; This it seems was but a Snare, for the Government no sooner observ'd that the Protestants, relying on his Majesty's Honour, were return'd to their Habitations, but they quarter'd Soldiers upon them again, and us'd them in the same barbarous manner they had done before. Monsieur *du Quesne*, one of their Vice-Admirals, 'tis said, was the only Man that was exempted from this Persecution, and that upon account of his Skill in Maritime Affairs, which the King at this time was promoting with the utmost Application.

The propagating the *Roman Catholick* Religion, as they stil'd it, or the Persecution of the *Protestants*, was continued during the Years 1686 and 1687; and various Edicts were issued to prevent their escaping out of the Kingdom: but still we find several of the Neighbouring Countries crowded with them about this time: either they pretended to become Converts till they found an Opportunity of leaving *France*, or their Catholick Relations and Friends were so touch'd with their Misfortunes that they favour'd their Escape; Or, Lastly, as their Estates were to be transferr'd to their Popish Relations on their leaving *France*, it is very natural to suppose they were not backward in assisting them to escape to foreign Countries. The Protestants relate, That about this time *Lewis XIV* was struck with a loathsome Disease (*a Fistula in Ano*) which they look'd upon as a Judgment upon him for his repeated Cruelties exercised on the innocent *Hugonots*: Certain it is, the King had a severe fit of Illness, and went in a solemn Procession to

1686.

1687.

The Nun-
nery of
St. Cyr
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to the Church of *Notre Dame* in *Paris* to sing *Te Deum* for his Deliverance from that or some other Disease. He erected the fine Nunnery of *St. Cyr* near *Versailles* also, endowing it with a Revenue of two hundred thousand *Livres per An.* for the Entertainment of three hundred young Ladies who wanted Fortunes; where they are instructed in every thing that may render them useful or agreeable, and at twenty Years of Age are left at their liberty to settle in the World, or take the Vow of Celibacy, &c. But I should have remember'd that in the Year 1686 the Grand Monarch had an Opportunity of gratifying his Vanity at an Audience he gave to the *Siamese* Ambassadors, when the Court appear'd in its utmost Splendour. They were afterwards carried to the frontier Towns and Sea-Ports to take a View of the Fortifications, and of the prodigious Arsenals and Magazins of War erected there, to their great Astonishment no doubt; neither their own Country or any of the *Asiatick* Kingdoms being able to shew any thing comparable to them.

1688.
The French
King encreas-
es his Forces
by Sea
and Land.

The *French* King having been for some considerable time Master of the Purses and Persons of his Subjects, had employ'd all the Wealth of *France* towards rendering himself superior both by Sea and Land to any of the Powers of *Europe*; and it is very evident he thought himself a Match for all of them by the Provocations he gave every Prince and State almost in his Neighbourhood. He seems solicitous to find Occasions to quarrel with them; and where he wanted a Pretence, frequently fell upon them without. And notwithstanding he might well be deem'd a zealous Catholick from the Persecution of his Protestant

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Protestant Subjects, we find him insulting the Pope himself, and threatening a Schism in the Church. He call'd an Assembly of the Ecclesiasticks of his Kingdom, over whom he had such an absolute Dominion, that they were compell'd to determine what they believ'd most acceptable to him. Among other things they declar'd, That the Pope was not infallible, and cou'd establish no Article of Faith without the Concurrence of a general Council, which was superior to him. That he had no Power to intermeddle in the Temporal Affairs of Princes, nor cou'd absolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance, &c. The Pope on the other hand had refus'd to confirm the Bishops of the King's Nomination, and depriv'd the *French* Ambassadors, as well as those of other Princes, of the Franchises of their Palaces at *Rome*; whereupon the Parliament of *Paris*, as they were order'd, admitted an Appeal from the Pope to a General Council. Things were brought to this Extremity, when the Elector of *Cologne* happening to die, Prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, who was espous'd by the Imperialists, and Cardinal *Furstenburg*, the *French* King's Creature, became Candidates for that Bishoprick; and, as the *French* complain, the Pope caus'd the Prince of *Bavaria* to be declar'd elected, though *Furstenburg* had a Majority of Voices in the Chapter; at which the grand Monarch pretended to be so exasperated, that he threaten'd both his Holiness and the Emperor to make them sensible of his Resentment, which occasion'd their entring into a Confederacy against him, together with the *Spaniards*, the *Dutch*, and most of the Princes of the Empire: Both Protestants and Papists thought it high time to put a stop to the

He insults
the Pope.

A Confederacy
formed
against
France.

the ambitious Designs of this haughty overbearing Monarch. The Terms of this Alliance were such a Medley of Contradictions, in regard to Religion at least, as are scarce to be parallell'd in any Treaty that ever was made. Here we find the Protestants stipulating to defend the Rights of the Holy See against the Encroachments of the *French* Court, and the Pope covenanting to see the Protestants of *France* restor'd to the free Exercise of their Religion; nay, all the Parties to this Alliance agreed never to make Peace till these things were effected. But so unnatural, so impossible to be fulfilled must these Articles appear to be on the first framing them, that it is no wonder no manner of regard was had to them at the end of the War when a Peace came to be concluded; they were only calculated to draw in the bigotted deluded Mob on both sides: for when the Prince of *Orange* and other Heads of the Confederacy had brought about their particular Ends, Religion and the People were left to shift for themselves, as usual. But to proceed.

The *French*
over-run
great part
of *Germany*

The *French* King having upwards of an hundred thousand Men well disciplin'd at the beginning of these Commotions, was in a Condition to put his Threats in Execution before the slow *Germans* or *Spaniards* could assemble their Troops to oppose him. The Dauphin was sent with a numerous Army into *Germany* in the latter end of the Year 1688, where he surpriz'd *Philipsburg*, *Frankendale*, *Manheim*, *Heidelberg*, *Hailbron*, and several other great Towns, while another Detachment made themselves Masters of *Mentz*, *Worms*, *Spire*, &c. and took up their Winter Quarters in the *Palatinate*. In the *Low Countries* the

the *Marshal d'Humiers* took the Fortrefs of *Huy*. Nor were the *French* oblig'd only to the usual Dilatorinefs of the *Germans* for this Torrent of Succels, but to the Situation of Affairs in *England*, whither the *Dutch* had fent thirteen or fourteen thoufand of their beft Troops, commanded by the Prince of *Orange*, to fupport the Malecontents of tha. Kingdom, who brought about that furprizing Revolution of which an Account has already been given in the Modern History of the *United Provinces*. It had been resolv'd indeed at the Court of *France*, to fend twenty or thirty thoufand Men to the Affiftance of the King of *England*; but that Prince had been over-rul'd by fome falfe Friends in his Council to refufe them; whereupon the *French* King contented himfelf with threatening the States General to refent it if they affifted the *English* Malecontents againft their Sovereign, which they did not much regard; they were affur'd of a Difpofition in the *English* Fleet and Army, as well as People, to revolt to the Prince of *Orange*, and knew that he wou'd foon return to their Affiftance ftrengthen'd with the Forces of *Britain*, and the moft the *French* cou'd have done in his Abfence wou'd have been to make themfelves Mafters of a Town or two. Befides, the Season of the Year was far advanc'd, and the Bulk of their Army in *Germany*. As for the unfortunate King of *England*, being deserted by his People and his Army, he fent over the Queen and the Prince of *Wales* to *France*, who arriv'd at *St. Germain's en Laye* the 6th of *January N. S.* and his Majesty follow'd them the next Day. The King of *France*, fay their Hiftorians, receiv'd them in a manner worthy of himfelf, namely, with all the Kindnefs and

The Re-
volution
in *England*

The French
Fleet con-
voy King
James to
Ireland.

Generosity which cou'd be expected from so great a Prince, and assign'd the Royal Palace of *St. Germain's* for their Residence. Soon after the Convention of Estates in *England* declar'd the Prince and Princess of *Orange* King and Queen of *Great Britain*. But the *French* King did not only give King *James* an hospitable Reception, but fitted out a Fleet, and sent him with a Re-inforcement of *French* Forces to *Ireland*, the greatest part of which Kingdom still remain'd faithful to that Prince. *Chateau-Renaud*, the *French* Admiral, having set King *James* and the Land-Forces on Shore, met with Admiral *Herbert*, who commanded the *English* Fleet, and defeated him, (though the *English* affirm it was a drawn Battle). About the same time his most *Christian* Majesty is charg'd with entring into an Alliance with the Pirates of *Algiers*, by which it was agreed they should cruise upon the *English* and *Dutch* Merchants, and that he actually introduc'd these *Mahometan* Rovers into the Ocean, and even into the *British* Channel.

1689.

In *Ireland* King *James* having receiv'd another Re-inforcement of *French* Troops, laid Siege to *Londonderry*, (being almost the only City in the Hands of the Prince of *Orange's* Friends) and reduc'd it to the last Extremity by Famine, many thousands perishing for want of Food ; but Colonel *Kirk* being sent to the Relief of it from *England*, found means to throw Supplies of Men and Provisions into the Town, and compell'd King *James* to raise the Siege, after which that Prince's Interest very much declin'd in *Ireland*. In the mean time the Imperialists recover'd *Mayenne*, *Keyserwaert*, *Rhineberg* and *Bon* from the *French*, and as the Grand Monarch was sensible he

must

must in time restore all he had taken in the *Palatinate*, he ravag'd that Country, destroying it with Fire and Sword in a terrible manner. He laid in Ashes the Cities of *Spire*, *Oppenheim*, *Worms* and *Frankendale*, with all the Villages and open places between *Francfort* and *Heidelbourg*, which shews that he now despair'd of making that fine Country his own, or succeeding in his Project of becoming sole Monarch of this part of the World. At the beginning of the War he had Hopes that the Crown of *Great Britain* wou'd have concurr'd in all his Measures, at least that he shou'd have been able to have kept up a civil War there, by furnishing his Allie King *James* with Troops from time to time; but *England* being now in other hands, he was sensible he must sooner or later relinquish all his Acquisitions on that side. The beginning of the War however was no less glorious to his Arms at Sea than at Land, for he gain'd a Victory over the united Fleets of *England* and *Holland* commanded by the Earl of *Torrington* off of *Beachy Head*. The *Dutch* it seems bore the brunt of this Engagement almost alone, for either the *English* Admiral cou'd not or wou'd not second them, for which he was afterwards try'd and acquitted; but King *William* did not think fit to employ him afterwards: However, as few of the *English* Ships came to a close Engagement with the Enemy, their Loss was inconsiderable. The next Day (*July 1st O. S.*) a more memorable Battle was fought on the Banks of the *Boyne* in *Ireland*, which in a manner determin'd the Fate of that Kingdom, and settled King *William* on the Throne. The Account the *French* Writers give us of this Engagement is, That *Marshall Schomberg*,

The *French* destroy the *Palatinate*.

1690. They beat the confederate Fleet.

Battle of the *Boyne*.

under the Prince of *Orange*, commanded an Army of forty thousand regular Troops, and that King *James's* Army consisted only of the Militia of the Country, except the *French* Auxiliaries, which did not amount to ten thousand Men; that the *Irish* were charg'd both in Front and Flank, and their Foot broken without any possibility of rallying them; that the *French* sustain'd the Charge bravely for some time, but were at length oblig'd to retire. King *James* after the Battle went to *Kinsale*, and from thence to *Dublin*; and finding it impossible to bear up against so great a Superiority, thought fit to return to *France*: Whereupon the Duke of *Ormond* took Possession of *Dublin*, and King *William* made his triumphant Entry into that City the sixth Instant.

Battle of
Fleury.

The *French* had better Success in the *Netherlands*, where they gain'd a compleat Victory over the *Dutch* in the Plains of *Flerus* or *Fleury*, on the tenth of *July*, taking all their Cannon and six thousand Prisoners. But having already given an Account of the War between the *French* and the Confederates till the Peace of *Ryswick*, which was concluded in the Year 1697, in the Modern History of the *Netherlands*, I should be inexcusable to tire the Reader with the Repetition of those Occurrences here.

1697.
The Peace
of *Ryswick*.

By the Peace between *France* and *Savoy*, the *French* King oblig'd himself to restore *Pignerol*, (after it was demolish'd) and the rest of the places taken from his Royal Highness during the War, among which the chief were *Montmelian*, *Nice*, *Villa Franca* and *Suza*. It was agreed also that the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Dauphin's eldest Son, should marry Madam the Princess Royal, the Duke of *Savoy's* eldest Daughter.

Daughter. And it was mutually stipulated, not to tolerate the Reformed Religion in either of their Dominions.

Between *France* and *England* it was reciprocally agreed to restore all places that had been taken on either side : and the *French* King oblig'd himself not to disturb King *William* in the Possession of the Crown of *England*, or assist his Enemies ; and to restore the Principality of *Orange*, and all he had been depriv'd of in *France*.

Between *France* and the States General it was agreed also to restore whatever had been taken on either side.

By the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, *Barcelona*, *Roses* and *Gironne*, and all other places the *French* had taken in *Spain*, were restor'd to the *Spaniards*. And in the *Netherlands*, the City and Dutchy of *Luxemburg*, and County of *Chiny*, *Mons*, *Courtray*, *Charleroy*, and all other Towns his most *Christian* Majesty had taken during the War, were yielded to *Spain*.

The Emperor did not sign the Peace till about two Months after the rest of the Confederates, viz. on the 30th of *October* 1697. The Treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen* were agreed to be the Foundation of it ; and particularly it was stipulated, That Restitution should be made to the Emperor and Empire of whatever the *French* had taken during the War, provided that the Catholick Religion shou'd remain in the state it then was in the places to be restor'd : only it was thought proper to make an Exchange of some places : *Strasburg* and its Dependancies was to be united to the Kingdom of *France* ; and *Friburg*, *Fort Kehl*, *Fort St. Peter*, the *Star Fort*, *Brisac* and *Philipsburg*,

Philipsburg, were yielded to the Emperor. The Dutchy of *Lorraine* was to be restor'd to its natural Prince, except some few small places, and the Fortifications of *Nancy*, the Capital City, were agreed to be demolish'd. From whence it evidently appears, that tho' the *French* had met with such amazing Success during the course of the War, they were in no Condition to continue it longer, or they wou'd never have relinquish'd all their Acquisitions.

1698.

No sooner was the War ended, but the Persecution of the *Hugonots* was reviv'd. The Court of *France* being now no longer apprehensive of their fomenting Insurrections, shew'd them no Favour, the Army was again employ'd in harrassing those poor People ; and accordingly, 'tis said, the *French* Protestants and new Converts are always more desirous of War than Peace. At the same time several *Roman* Catholick Bishops, Priests and Monks, with their Disciples, having fled from *Ireland* and taken Refuge in *France*, the Archbishop of *Paris* sent a kind of circular Letter, or Brief, through his Province, whereby he did in a very moving manner, exhort all true Catholicks to contribute to the Necessities of these their afflicted Bretheren.

Treaty of
Partition
of the Spa-
nish Mo-
narchy.

The King of *Spain* being in a very ill state of Health, and the *French*, as well as the Houses of *Austria* and *Bavaria*, having their respective Pretensions to the Succession of that Monarchy in case of his Catholick Majesty's Death, it was generally expected that the Peace of *Europe* wou'd be again disturb'd whenever that Event shou'd happen. And indeed both the *French* and Imperialists were actually making military Preparations, and forming

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forming Alliances to maintain their respective Titles to that Crown in case of a Demise, being satisfied that on which side soever the Right shou'd appear, the longest Sword wou'd probably carry it. But as the *French* were not so sanguin at this time as to hope to obtain the whole, King *William*, 'tis said, propos'd the making a Partition of the *Spanish* Dominions among the several Competitors, to which had all the Parties concern'd agreed, there might have been no great hurt in the matter ; but the Emperor insisted on his Claim to the whole, and would consent to no Treaty on this Head ; whereupon the Kings of *England* and *France*, and the States General, took upon them to divide the Dominions of *Spain* without him ; and this was call *The First Partition Treaty*, by which the Dauphin of *France* was allotted for his Share the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, the Islands of *Sancto Stephano*, *Porto Hercole*, *Orbitello*, *Telamone*, *Porto Longone* and *Piombino*, and all the places situate on the Coast of *Tuscany* which belong'd to *Spain* ; as also the Towns of *Fonterabia* and *St. Sebastians*, so much of the Provinces of *Guipuscoa*, *Navarre*, *Alava* and *Biscay* as are on this side the Mountains, but the rest of *Guipuscoa*, &c. beyond the *Pyrenean* Mountains, was to remain to *Spain*. To the Archduke *Charles*, the Emperor's second Son, in lieu of all Pretensions of the House of *Austria*, was assign'd the Dutchy of *Milan* : And to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*, all the rest of the *Spanish* Monarchy and its Dependancies, as well in *Europe* as in *Africa* and both the *Indies*. And in case of the King of *Spain's* Death without Issue, if any of the Parties shou'd refuse to accept the Share allotted him, such

such Share was to remain sequester'd in the Hands of the respective Governors till the Controversy should be decided.

1699.

The Court of *Spain* being acquainted with the particulars of this Treaty, were not a little alarm'd at it; and in order to prevent the dismembring of that Monarchy, the King by the Advice of his Council made a Will, whereby he gave the Kingdom of *Spain*, with all the Territories belonging to it, to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria*. But this Prince dying soon after, the Parties to the first Treaty of Partition drew up and concluded a second, which the *Spaniards* were no less offended at than the former.

The 2d
Partition
Treaty.

By this Treaty the same Share was allotted to the Dauphin as before, with an Addition of *Final*, and *Lorrain*, the Dutchy of *Milan* being given to the Duke of *Lorrain* in lieu of his own Country: The Kingdom of *Spain*, with all the Remainder of its Dominions within *Europe* and without, were allotted to the Archduke *Charles*, the Emperor's second Son. This Treaty was sign'd at *London* by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, *Britain* and the States General, on the 3d of *March* 1700 N.S. or the 19th of *February* 1699 O.S. Before I proceed to give an Account of the Success of it, it may be proper to mention some Occurrences that happen'd in *France* while these Treaties were upon the Anvil.

The French
K. employs
his Forces
in mock
Sieges and
Battles.

The Court of *France*, as has been intimated already, kept up their Forces after the War was ended, that they might be in a Condition to give Law to the rest of *Europe* in case of the King of *Spain*'s Death: they discharg'd indeed some of the common Soldiers in every Regiment that were least fit for Service, but retaining

retaining all the Officers, their places might easily be supply'd on any Emergency : And as the *French King* had now no present Employment for this vast Body of veteran Troops, whom a long Series of War had render'd the most expert at their Arms and all military Accomplishments that had ever appear'd upon the Face of the Earth, for the Instruction as well as Diversion of his three Grandsons, the Dukes of *Burgundy*, *Anjou* and *Berry*, he order'd an Incampment of fifty thousand Horse and Foot, with a Train of Artillery, near *Compeign* in *Picardy*, where were represented all such Actions and Motions as usually happen between two Armies during the most active Campaigns, as Sieges, Battles, Marches, Foragings, &c. the Charges of which, 'tis said, did not amount to less than sixteen millions of Livres, or sixteen hundred thousand Pounds sterling. The Expences in the Camp were beyond all Bounds, every great Officer kept a publick Table ; and as to Marshal *Boufflers*, his Expences are hardly to be computed. He caus'd several large Apartments to be built, and hung with Flame colour'd Damask lac'd with Gold Orace, Peer-Glasses, Marble-Tables, Cabinets of China Ware, &c. which he brought from his Palaces in *Paris* ; but his Tapestry, his Beds, Chairs and Plate, were all new, and made on purpose for the Camp. He had four spacious Kitchens, in which were two and forty Cooks employ'd in preparing the most elegant Entertainments. Expresses arriv'd continually with *Ortelans*, red Partridge, Pheasants, Capons of *Bruges*, and in general the most exquisite Rarities from every Country. Fish was brought in on Fish Days from *Diep*, *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, and Horses laid to

bring Sturgeon and Salmon from *Ghent* and *Brussels*, and others to fetch Fruit and Sallads from the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, besides a vast Profusion of *Champaign*, *Burgundy*, *Rhenish*, *Moseller*, and all foreign Wines. When the Camp broke up, the Army march'd towards the *Netherlands*, which gave very uneasy Apprehensions to the *English* and *Dutch*.

Still the Persecution of the *Hugonots* continu'd, and those who had fled into the Territories of the Duke of *Savoy*, by the Influence of the Court of *France* were driven from thence into *Switzerland*, which Country being overburthen'd with them, the Elector of *Brandenburg* invited them to settle in his Country, and granted them many considerable Privileges, whereby he establish'd several beneficial Manufactures, which till then were unknown in that Country. In the mean time the Grand Monarch publish'd several Edicts for the Encouragement of Trade in his Dominions, and preventing Idleness and Luxury : But he had done infinitely more Mischief to the Trade and Manufactures of *France*, by driving such Multitudes of Artificers into other Countries, who set up their several Professions there, than ever he cou'd hope to repair by the wisest Regulations. His establishing a select Council to enquire into the Grievances of Merchants and Tradesmen, was certainly a very prudent Institution : But much the greatest Grievance, the putting such Hardships on the industrious Peasants and Mechanicks on account of Religion, was left without a Remedy ; which naturally produc'd the Calamities they lie under at this Day, when great part of their Lands are actually uncultivated, and many of the

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the Towns that were famous for Trade and Manufactures have scarce any left.

To return to the Business of the *Spanish* Succession. Notwithstanding the *French* King had agreed with his *British* Majesty and the States General to accept a part of the *Spanish* Dominions on the Death of that Prince, yet observing how much his Catholick Majesty and the whole *Spanish* Nation were averse to the dismembring of their Monarchy, he found means to influence their Councils so far as to get a Will made, whereby the Duke of *Anjou*, second Son to the Dauphin, was appointed Heir of the whole *Spanish* Monarchy. Soon after which (*viz.* on the first of *November* 1700 O. S.) his Catholick Majesty died, of which the Court of *France* no sooner receiv'd Advice, but Orders were sent to their Troops to advance towards the Frontiers of the *Spanish* Territories to establish the Duke of *Anjou* on that Throne. The States General hereupon represented their Surprize to the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, that his most *Christian* Majesty shou'd reject the Treaty of Partition he had made with them and King *William*, and accept the Will in favour of his Grandson. To which the Ambassador answer'd, that the principal Design of that Treaty being to prevent the Union of the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain* under one Sovereign, this was as effectually provided for by the Will, the Heirs of the Duke of *Anjou* being render'd incapable of enjoying the Crown of *Spain* if they succeeded to that of *France*. But how little satisfied soever the *Dutch* might be with this Answer, they thought fit to dissemble their Intentions when they found the Duke of *Bavaria*, Governor of the *Spanish* Netherlands,

1700.

The *French* seize the *Spanish* Dominions on the King of *Spain's* Death.

had put them into the Possession of his most *Christian* Majesty's Forces, by which means they were absolutely dep'iv'd of their Barrier, and lay open to the Insults of the *French*. The States General therefore, as well as King *William*, acted that mean part of acknowledging the Duke of *Arjou*, and congratulating him on his Accession to the Crown of *Spain*, at the same time they were forming an Alliance against him. It is said indeed they were under a Necessity of doing it, but all this Necessity was no more than the hazarding the Loss of a Town or two upon their Frontiers before their Confederates cou'd have join'd : We saw the Imperialists alone soon found the *French* sufficient Employment in *Italy*, and the *English* immediately agreed to send over Troops to their Assistance, so that they were far from being in that desperate Condition they were when the *French* invaded them in the Year 1672. But the several Transactions and Occurrences during this second War between *France* and the Confederates being contain'd in the Modern History of *Germany* or the *Netherlands*, I shall pass over them here, and only take notice of some particulars which were omitted or but slightly mention'd in those Relations.

1708.

The Distress the Grand Monarch and his Grandson of *Spain* were reduc'd to by the Allies in this War, and particularly in the Year 1708, cannot appear more evidently to future Ages than from some Passages we find in a Prayer contain'd in the *Mercure Galant*, printed at *Paris* in *January* 1708-9.

G R E A T G O D, (says that Writer) who makest those Men triumph who profess a Religion contrary to thy Holy Commandments :

ments : **DIVINE BEING**, who permittest the Authors of an unjust War to dethrone a Monarch (the King of *Spain*) whom their Ambassadors had acknowledg'd ; well may Man say that thy Decrees are impene- trable. Let not those who now (unhappily for themselves) triumph, boast of their Victo- ries, which Heaven permits only to enhance the Glory of a Prince who had never any other Designs than what are agreeable to Justice, and for the good of the true Religion, and to shew that he is yet greater in Adversity than in the midst of the most flattering Pro- sperity. We may say, that his Enemies who think to crush him, only make his Virtues shine the brighter, which wou'd not have appear'd with that Lustre if he had always triumph'd. The World may be convinc'd he is one of thine Elect, seeing thy Divine Ma- jesty has touch'd him with the Finger with which thou touchest only those who are to serve for Examples in this World to all Man- kind, and hereafter to bear a Palm in Hea- ven.

But, O our God, if we may be permitted to offer a Prayer in behalf of the People of *Europe*, bestow thy Blessing on those unfortu- nate Conquerors, and by making them cease to triumph, open their Eyes, that they may know themselves, and one Day merit Admis- sion into thy Celestial Kingdom. With Justice has the Monarch who now governs *France*, acquir'd the Name of *Great* ; let him triumph once more, O God, and continue thou to make use of a Sovereign who places all his Felicity in thee, and looks upon the Good or Bad that befalls him as Favours from thy Divine Majesty; and *who not having been lifted*

up with Pride in the time of his greatest Triumphs, has never been *cast down by Disgraces, &c.*

1709.

The various Calamities *France* suffer'd at this time were sufficient to break the Spirit of the proudest Monarch upon Earth. Money was become exceeding scarce, and their Mint-Bills and Farmers Notes, which were design'd to supply the place of Money, had lost their Credit. Their Bankers broke by whole Shoals; and the Merchants of *Lyons*, where Trade us'd to flourish most, were not able to pay the Bills of Exchange drawn upon them. The People at the same time were reduc'd to a starving Condition, by the unseasonable Weather and Loss of the last Harvest, which occasion'd Tumults in all parts of the Kingdom, while the bad Food produc'd contagious Distempers that carried off many of them. Add to this, all *Europe* almost in a Confederacy against them, and ready to penetrate into the Heart of their Country: and it is scarce possible to form a Scene of more consummate Misery. This oblig'd the *French* King to think of Peace in earnest; whereupon he sent his Plenipotentiaries to *Holland*; but the Allies refus'd to treat till his Ministers had consented to certain mortifying Preliminaries, which were sign'd at the *Hague* on the 28th of May 1709, the principal whereof were,

Preliminary Articles for a Peace.

Art. 3. Whereby the *French* King acknowledges King *Charles III* to be King of *Spain*, the *Indies*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and all the Dominions comprehended under the Title of the *Monarchy of Spain*, in what part of the World soever, reserving only those parts granted to the King of *Portugal* and the Duke of *Savoy* by the High Allies, and the Barrier which King

Charles

Charles III is to give to the States General, and the upper Quarter of *Gelderland*.

Art. IV. Recites, That whereas it had been reciprocally agreed, that the Treaty of Peace shou'd be brought to a Conclusion within two Months, to commence from the first of *June*, during which time the *French King* shou'd cause the Kingdom of *Sicily* to be deliver'd to King *Charles III*, and the Duke of *Anjou*, with his Wife, Children and Effects, and all Persons willing to follow him, shou'd within the said two Months retire out of the *Spanish Dominions*; it is hereby stipulated, That if the Duke of *Anjou* shou'd not consent to this Convention before the Expiration of the said Term, the *French King*, as well as the Confederates, shou'd take Measures in concert to secure the full Execution of this Article.

Art. V. And to forward the said Agreement, the *French King* shou'd within the said Term of two Months, withdraw all his Troops and Officers from *Spain*, *Sicily*, and the rest of the *Spanish Territories* in *Europe*, and those in the *Indies* as soon as he cou'd, and shou'd not directly or indirectly assist the Duke of *Anjou* with Forces, Money, &c.

Art. VI. The *French King* agrees to yield up *Strasburgh* and *Fort Kehl* to the Emperor.

Art. IX. He agrees to restore *Brisac* to the Emperor.

Art. X. *Landau* is hereby yielded to the Emperor, and the rest of the Imperial Cities in *Alsace* were to enjoy their Privileges.

Art.

Art. XI. The *French King* consents to demolish *Hunninghen, New Brisac* and *Fort Lewis*, with all the other Fortresses he possesses on the *Rhine* from *Basil* to *Philipsburgh*.

Art. XIV. XV. The *French King* promises to acknowledge *Queen Anne* and the Protestant Succession.

Art. XVI. Obliges the *French King* to restore whatever he has taken from *Britain*.

Art. XVII. Obliges him to demolish the *Town* and *Harbour* of *Dunkirk*.

Art. XXII. By this Article the *French King* yields to the *States General, Furnes, Menin, Ypres, Cassel, Lisle, Conde* and *Maubeuge* for their *Barrier*.

Art. XXIII. By this he agrees to deliver up all the other places he had possess'd himself of in the *Spanish Netherlands*.

Art. XXVII, and XXVIII. The *Duke of Savoy* to be re-instated in the Possession of *Savoy, Nice*, and all his Territories; and to enjoy *Exilles, Fenestrelles, Chamont*, and the *Valley of Pragelas*, with whatever lies on this side *Mount Genevre* and the other *Mountains*.

Art. XXXV. By this the *French King* obliges himself to evacuate *Namur, Mons* and *Charleroy* before the 15th of *June*; *Luxemburgh, Conde, Tournay* and *Maubeuge* 15 Days after; *Newport, Furnes, Fort Knocque* and *Ipres* before the 15th of *July*; and before the Expiration of two Months to demolish the *Harbour* of *Dunkirk*.

Art. XXXIX. These preliminary Articles to be ratify'd by the *French King, the Queen of England* and the *States General* before the 15th

15th of *June* next, when a Congress was to be begun at the *Hague*.

Notwithstanding these Articles had been sign'd by the respective Plenipotentiaries, *Rouille*, the *French* Minister at the *Hague*, acquainted the Ministers of the Allies a few Days after, that the most *Christian* King his Master cou'd not ratify several of them, particularly the tenth, the eleventh and the twenty eighth. But the President *Rouille* being press'd to declare if he had still any secret Orders from his most *Christian* Majesty tending to Peace, he said, if the Allies wou'd content themselves with the fifth Article of the Preliminaries with relation to *Spain*, namely, with a Promise to recall his Troops from *Spain*, and give no manner of Assistance to his Grandson, without the others relating to the delivering up the *Spanish* Monarchy, he thought his Majesty wou'd not insist on his other Exceptions. But the Allies not thinking fit to depart from any one of the Articles which had been agreed on for the Evacuation of *Spain*, Monsieur *Rouille* return'd to *Paris* and the War was renew'd with as much Fury as ever.

The
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naries.

The following Winter the *French* King offer'd to consent to all the preliminary Articles, and to deliver up four strong Towns to the Allies, as a Pledge for the Observation of them, provided he might not be compell'd to assist with his Forces in dethroning his Grandson. But this Offer also was rejected by the Allies.

On the 15th of *February* 1709-10 the Dutchess of *Burgundy* was deliver'd of a Son, to whom the Grand Monarch immediately gave the Title of Duke of *Anjou*, being the same

Prince that now fills the Throne of *France*, *Lewis XV.*

1710.

The *French* King obtained leave of the Allies, with much difficulty, to send his Plenipotentiaries to *Gertrudenburg* in *Holland* again in the beginning of the Year 1710 : and here they were permitted to treat only with the *Dutch* Ministers : the *English* and the rest of the Allies were so good as to entrust their respective Interests to their Management, who reported, that the *French* King desired only *Sicily* and *Sardinia* for his Grandson, and that then he wou'd deliver up the rest of the *Spanish* Monarchy to King *Charles III.* But this Proposal also was rejected, and the Ministers

1711.

of *France* return'd to *Paris* again without effecting any thing : and to add to the Misfortunes of the Grand Monarch, his Son *Lewis*, the Dauphin, died of the Small Pox on the 14th of *April* 1711, in the fiftieth Year of his his Age ; leaving Issue by *Maria Anna* of *Bavaria*, *Lewis* Duke of *Burgundy*, *Philip* King of *Spain*, and *Gaston* Duke of *Berry*.

The *French*
K. makes
Proposals
of Peace
to her
British
Majesty.

The *French* King not succeeding in any Proposals of Peace he had made in *Holland*, sent Monsieur *Mesnager* into *England* the latter end of the Year 1711, to treat with her *Britanick* Majesty's Ministers, who observing that neither the *Germans* or *Dutch* furnish'd their Quota of Troops or Money towards the War, notwithstanding they were chiefly Gainers by it, and that the *British* Nation only exhausted herself and ruin'd her Trade by the Continuance of it, shew'd themselves enclined to treat with the *French* on their offering to sign reasonable Preliminaries : which rais'd a mighty Clamour among the rest of the Confederates ; tho' at the bottom there was no more in it

than

than that they were very angry with the Queen of *Great Britain* that she wou'd no longer consent to impoverish her People by conquering Kingdoms for her Neighbours, who refus'd to contribute themselves towards the Charges of the War. But to proceed. On the ninth of *October* her *British* Majesty communicated the Terms of Peace offer'd by *France* to the rest of the Allies, and the next Month acquainted their Ministers at *London* that she had pitch'd upon *Utrecht* for the Place of Congress, and that the Conferences wou'd begin there on the first of *January* O. S. she also wrote to the several Princes in Alliance with her, to invite them to send their Ministers to the Congress.

The first Conferences for Treating of a general Peace were held at *Utrecht* on the 18th of *January* O. S. and on the last of that Month the *French* Plenipotentiaries deliver'd in their Proposals in Writing. In the mean time the Duke of *Marlborough* being laid aside, the Duke of *Ormond* was constituted General of the *British* Forces: And notwithstanding the Conferences at *Utrecht*, both the *French* and the Confederates took the Field the next Campaign. But I should have remembred, that the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, or rather, the Dauphiness, *Mary Adelaide* of *Savoy*, died on the 12th of *February* N. S. 1711-12 of the Meazles; and the Dauphin, who was then ill of the same Distemper, died on the 18th of the same Month, in the thirtieth Year of his Age: which the *French* King, in his Letter to the Cardinal *de Noailles*, requiring him to pray for the repose of their Souls, laments as a very heavy Affliction. The Dauphin left two Sons behind him, of which the eldest,

1712.

the Duke of *Britany*, soon followed him to the Grave, being five Years of Age; whereupon his Brother, *Lewis* Duke of *Anjou*, his present Majesty, succeeded to the Title of Dauphin.

His most *Christian* Majesty having offer'd such Terms to the Queen of *Great Britain* and her Allies as she look'd upon to be satisfactory, the Duke of *Ormond*, by her Direction, declar'd to Prince *Eugene* and the rest of the confederate Generals, that he had Orders not to act offensively against the *French*; and propos'd a Cessation of Arms; but they cou'd not be induc'd to consent to it. However, in hopes they wou'd at length come into her Plan of Peace, the Queen afterwards sent Orders to the Duke of *Ormond* to concur with the confederate Generals in the Siege of *Quesnoy*. But this not giving Satisfaction to the Allies, the Duke acquainted their Generals that he had positive Orders to agree to a Cessation of Arms with the *French*, declaring he shou'd march off with the *British* Troops, and the Foreigners in the Queen's Pay, within three or four Days. But the Foreign Troops, it seems, refus'd to obey his Orders, and remain'd in Prince *Eugene's* Camp, after the Duke of *Ormond* was separated from it, which happen'd on the seventh of *July*, when the Duke proclaimed a suspension of Arms with *France* for two Months, as Marshal *Villars* did in his Camp at the same time with *England*. The Allies notwithstanding proceeded to invest *Landrecy*, which they were soon after oblig'd to raise, their Army meeting with a terrible Defeat at *Denain*: of which, and other unfortunate Steps that were taken by them this Campaign, having already given an Account in the Modern History of

Germany,

Germany, I forbear to repeat them here. In the mean time the Town, Citadel and Forts of *Dunkirk* were put into the Hands of the *English* Troops, in pursuance of his most *Christian* Majesty's Agreement with the Queen of *England*: and the Duke of *Ormond* having pass'd the *Scheld*, quarter'd his Army in *Ghent* and *Bruges*.

But neither the Wars of *Europe*, nor the Negotiations that were now carrying on at *Utrecht*, cou'd divert the Grand Monarch from considering the Advantages that might accrue to his Kingdom by enlarging the *French* Plantations in *America*, and encouraging his Subjects to trade thither. And therefore on the 14th of *September* 1712 he granted his Letters Patents to the *Sieur Anthony Crozat*, Secretary of his Finances, in the Preamble whereof he recites, that having given a Commission to the *Sieur de la Salle* in the Year 1683, to undertake a Discovery of that Country in North *America* situated between *New France* (or *Canada*) and *New Mexico*, and the *Sieur de la Salle* having met with such Success as to confirm him in the Belief that a Communication might be settled from *New France* (*Canada*) to the Gulph of *Mexico* by means of large Rivers (the principal whereof is the River of *Mississippi*, which falls into the Gulph of *Mexico*). He gave Orders after the Peace of *Ryswick*, Anno 1697, for establishing a Colony and maintaining a Garrison there, which had kept the Possession he had taken in the Year 1683 of the Country situated between *Carolina* on the East, and *Old* and *New Mexico* on the West, to which he had given the Name of *Louisiana* (formerly *Florida*, and which in reality belongs either to the *Spaniards* or the *English*.)

The French
K. propo-
sest to plant
Florida or
Louisiana.

English). That new Wars having broken out in *Europe*, there was no Possibility of reaping the Advantages that might be expected from this new Colony till now. They had hitherto been under a Necessity of fetching from Foreigners the greatest part of the Merchandizes and Commodities that might be brought from thence, and for which they need only carry thither the Product and Manufactures of *France*. For which and many other important Considerations, he grants to the *Sieur Crozat* for fifteen Years, the sole Privilege of trading to and from the said Country of *Louisiana*, &c.

From whence my Author very justly observes, that this Project of the *French King's*, if not oppos'd in time, will probably in the end prove very advantageous to them, and fatal to their Neighbours the *Spaniards* and *English*. If the Discovery of a Country already peopled can give the Discoverer any Right to it, no doubt the *Spaniards* are the Proprietors of *Florida* or *Louisiana*, for they actually discover'd all the Coast from *Vera Cruz* to the Cape of *Florida*, where they have two Fortresses at this time, viz. those of *St. Mattheo* and *St. Augustino*; but as *Spain* had at this time almost an entire Dependance on the Grand Monarch, it is no wonder that she conniv'd at all his Encroachments. I can never be of an Opinion indeed, that the bare Discovery of a large Continent, or even the erecting Forts and Settlements on some part of it, can give the Discoverer a Title to more of it than he can possibly use or manure. No, admitting it to be unpeopled before, the Colonies of every Nation that shall arrive there, provided the Country be large enough for them

all,

all, have a Right to so much as they can respectively occupy, *and no more.* It is not for a great Prince to take a Pair of Compasses in his Hand and describe a Space of four or five thousand Miles in Circumference, (as *Florida* or *Louisiana* actually is) and give it his own Name, that will in reality give him a Title to the Country, especially when others have had Settlements on the Confines of it long before him, as is the case of the *English*, who possess all the Eastern Coasts of *America* contiguous to *Florida* and *Canada*, for fifteen hundred Miles, and who must, if *France* maintains her Title to what she calls *Louisiana*, be debarr'd from extending her Plantations on the Continent to the Westward, and consequently be pent up within very narrow Bounds. Nor is this the worst of it, for if the *French* remain possess'd of these Countries, they will import the very same Merchandize to *Europe* the *English* do, and consequently diminish our Plantation-Trade. Nay, as they lie all along on the Back of our Settlements, the *French* may at one time encrease their regular Forces on that side to twenty or thirty thousand Men, and then they will find it no great Difficulty to expel us from the best of our Settlements, and make themselves *entire* Masters of the Sea Coasts and the Plantation-Trade, which is such a Consideration, as one wou'd think shou'd alarm even a *British* Ministry. I do not here descend to examin what Right the *Spaniards*, *French* or *English* cou'd have to a Country that was actually peopled before they discover'd it; but as to so much as any of these Nations have obtain'd by Treaty with the Natives in Consideration of the Improvements they have made, as is actually the case
of

of the *English* in some places, for so much at least they have a certain and undoubted Right; but I question whether the *Spaniards* or *French* can shew any such Right to any part of *America*. And I can't but think my Friend *Moll*, and the rest of our *English* Geographers, infinitely in the wrong to follow the *French* Charts in changing the Names of the Countries and Rivers in *America*, and particularly the Countries of *Canada* and *Florida* for those of *New France* and *Louisiana*, and the Names of the Rivers *Missoury* and *Mississippi* for those of *St. Philip* and *St. Lewis*. But to return to *Europe* again.

The Con-
stitution
Unigenitus.

Nothing has made more Noise in *France*, or given more Disturbance to the *Gallic* Church, than a Decree of the Pope's this Year, generally call'd the *Constitution Unigenitus*, from the Words with which that Bull begins, viz. *Unigenitus Dei Filius*. It was made against a Book of Father *Quesnel's*, entitled *The New Testament in French, with Moral Reflections on each Verse: Or, An Abridgment of the Morals of the Gospel, Acts of the Apostles, Canonical Epistles and Revelations: Or, Christian Thoughts on the Text of the Sacred Books*. Printed at Paris 1693, and 1694. Out of this Book were extracted an hundred and one Passages or Propositions, as the Subject of the Pope's Censure, of which I shall mention some of the chief, from whence the Reader will be able to pass some Judgment on the Papal Decree.

Proposi-
tions con-
demn'd
by it.

2. The Grace of Jesus Christ, a Principle efficacious for all manner of Good, is necessary to all good Works; without it nothing is done or can be done.

3. 'Tis

3. 'Tis in vain, O Lord, that you Command, unless you give what you Command.

10. Grace is nothing else but the Will of Almighty God, governing and doing whatever he willet or ordaineth.

29. No Grace is given out of the Church.

34. The Grace of *Adam* produceth only human Merit.

59. The Prayer of the Wicked is a new Sin, and that which God grants them a new Judgment.

73. What is the Church but the Assembly of the Children of God, living in its Bosom, adopted in Christ, subsisting in his Person, redeemed by his Blood, living by his Spirit, acting by his Grace, and expecting the Glory of the Life to come.

76. Nothing is more extensive than the Church; because it consists of all the Elect and Righteous of all Ages.

80. The Reading of the Holy Scriptures is for all Men.

86. To forbid ignorant People the Comfort of joining their Voice to that of all the Church, is a Custom opposite to the antient Practice of the Apostles, and even to the Intention of God.

92. To suffer Excommunication, and an unjust Anathema, rather than betray the Truth, is to imitate *St. Paul*; far from opposing Authority in the least, or breaking the Unity.

97. It happens too often, that those Members which are most holy, and most strictly united to the Church, are regarded as unworthy of being in the Church, or as if they were

excluded. But the Righteous live by Faith, and not by Virtue of the Opinion of Men.

101. There is nothing more opposite to the Spirit of God, and the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, than to render Oaths common in the Church, because 'tis to multiply the Opportunities of Perjury, and lay Snares for the weak and ignorant, and occasions that the Name and Truth of God serve sometimes for the promoting impious Designs.

It is time now to resume the Account of the Negotiations of Peace at *Utrecht*, where we find that the ill Success the Allies met with after their Separation from the *English*, induc'd most of them to come into the Plan of Peace the Queen of *Great Britain* had propos'd to them; and the Emperor and Empire, who stood out some time longer, made worse Terms at last than the Queen had obtain'd for them.

Treaty of
Peacecon-
cluded at
Utrecht.

On the thirty-first of *March O. S.* or the eleventh of *April N. S.* the respective Treaties of Peace were sign'd at *Utrecht* between the Plenipotentiaries of *France* of the one part, and the Plenipotentiaries of *Britain*, *Prussia*, *Portugal*, the States General and *Savoy* of the other; Count *Zinzendorf*, the Imperial Minister, at the same time protesting against it as injurious to his Master, for the several Reasons already mention'd in the Modern History of *Germany*.

By the Treaty between *France* and *Great Britain*, the *French* King acknowledges her *British* Majesty's Title, and that of the House of *Hannover* in default of Issue of her Majesty, and promises to dismiss the Pretender out of the Kingdom of *France*, never to return thither again, and that he will never oppose the
Protestant

Protestant Succession. The *French* King also agrees, that the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* shall never be inherited by the same Person, and that reciprocal Renunciations shall be made by the Princes interested accordingly.

He agrees also not to trade to the *Spanish West-Indies* in any other manner than the rest of the Nations of *Europe* do.

The most *Christian* King also engages, that all the Fortifications of the City of *Dunkirk* shou'd be raz'd, the Harbour fill'd up, and the Sluices and Moles destroy'd at his own Expence, within five Months after the Conclusion of the Peace, and never be repair'd again.

He also obliges himself to restore to *Britain* the Bay and Streights of *Hudson*, with all the Lands, Sea-Coasts, Rivers and places situate in the said Bay and Streights, which were then possess'd by *France*. And it was mutually agreed between *Britain* and *France*, to send Commissaries to settle the Limits between *Hudson's Bay* and the places belonging to the *French*, which Limits shou'd not be pass'd either by the *French* or *English* by Sea or Land; and the same Commissaries were to be impow-er'd to settle the Boundaries between the other *British* and *French* Colonies.

The most *Christian* King obliges himself also to deliver to the Queen of *Great Britain* solemn and authentick Letters and Instruments on the Day of the Ratification of this Treaty, by Virtue whereof the Island of *St. Christophers* shou'd be possess'd only by the Subjects of *Britain*; and all *Nova Scotia*, or *Acadia*, with its antient Boundaries, the City of *Port Royal*, now *Annapolis Royal*, with their Dependancies, shou'd be yielded and made over to the *British*

Crown, in such manner that the Subjects of *France* shou'd hereafter be excluded from all kind of Fishing in the said Seas, Bays and other places on the Coasts of *Nova Scotia*, or within thirty Leagues to the Eastward thereof, beginning from the Island call'd *Sable*, and stretching thence towards the South-West.

And it was agreed, that the Island of *Newfoundland*, with the adjacent Islands, should from that time belong wholly to *Great Britain*; and the Fortress of *Placentia*, and all other places there in the Possession of the *French*, be yielded up to her *British Majesty*: Nor shou'd it be lawful for the Subjects of *France* to erect any Fortifications or Buildings thereon, unless Stages made of Boards, and Huts necessary for drying Fish, or to resort to the said Island but in the Fishing Season. The *French* however shou'd be permitted to take Fish, and dry them on the Land on that part of the said Island only which stretches from *Cape Bonavista* to the North Point of it, and from thence running down the Western side of the Island as far as *Point Riche*. But the Island of *Cape Breton*, as all others in the Mouth of the River of *St. Lawrence*, and in the Gulph of that Name, shou'd belong to the *French King*, who might fortify any places there.

That the Subjects of *France* inhabiting *Canada* or other parts, should not molest the five Nations or Cantons of *Indians* subject to *Britain*, or any other of the Natives of *America* in Friendship with them; nor shou'd the Subjects of *Britain* molest those that were Friends of *France*; and on both sides they shou'd enjoy full Liberty of going and coming on account of Trade, without Molestation from either Party. But it was to be settled by Commissioners, who

who shou'd be accounted Subjects and Friends of *Britain* or *France*.

His most *Christian* Majesty also agreed, that a just and reasonable Satisfaction shou'd be given to all the Allies of *Britain* in such matters as they have a Right to demand of *France*.

And in Consideration of the Friendship of the Queen of *Great Britain*, he grants, that in his Treaty with the Empire, all things concerning the State of Religion there, shou'd be settled conformably to the Treaty of *Westphalia*.

The most material Articles in the Treaty between *France* and *Prussia* were, that his *Prussian* Majesty shou'd enjoy the Upper Quarter of *Gelderland*, and the Principalities of *Neufchatel* and *Valengin*; in Consideration whereof he shou'd relinquish all Right and Title to the Principality of *Orange* in *France*.

There was little contain'd in the Treaty between *France* and *Portugal*, unless an Acknowledgment by his most *Christian* Majesty that both sides of the River of *Amazons* in *South America* belong'd to *Portugal*, and that he relinquish'd all Claim to the Use and Navigation of the said River.

By the Treaty between *France* and the States General, his most *Christian* Majesty obliges himself to deliver up to the States, in favour of the House of *Austria*, all that he had possess'd himself of in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and which belong'd to King *Charles II* by virtue of the Treaty of *Ryswick*, namely, the Dutchy, Town and Fortrels of *Luxemburg*, with the County of *Chiny*; the County, Town and Castle of *Namur*, as also the Towns of *Charleroy* and *Newport*, with their Dependancies.

ces. His most *Christian* Majesty also yields to the States General, in favour of the House of *Austria*, all his Right to the Town of *Menin*, the Town and Citadel of *Tournay*, with their Dependances and Appurtenances, except that of *St. Amand* and *Mortagne*. He also yields up in favour of the House of *Austria*, *Furnes*, *Furner*, *Ambacht*, *Fort Knoque*, the Towns of *Loo* and *Dixmude*, *Ipres* with its Chatellany, including *Roussilaer* and its other Dependancies, viz. *Poperinguen*, *Warneton*, *Communes* and *Warwick*.

And it was agreed, that no Province, Town, Fort, or Place of the said *Spanish Netherlands* should ever be yielded, or transferr'd, or fall to the Crown of *France*, or any Prince or Princess of that House, or come in any manner whatever under their Power.

The Lords the States General on the other hand oblig'd themselves to deliver up to his most *Christian* Majesty, the Town of *Lisle* with its Chatellany, *Orchies*, the Country of *Labeu* and the Burgh of *la Gourgne*, the Towns and Places of *Aire*, *Bethune*, *St. Venant* and *Fort Francois*, with their Bailiwicks and Appurtenances.

By the Treaty between *France* and *Savoy*, the *French* King oblig'd himself to restore to that Prince, the Dutchy of *Savoy*, the County of *Nice*, and in general, all the Places he had taken from his Royal Highness during the War. He also yielded and transferr'd to his Royal Highness, the Valley of *Pragelas* with the Forts of *Exilles* and *Fenestrelles*, the Valleys of *Oulx*, *Sezane*, *Bardonache* and *Chateau Dauphine*, and all about the Water which falls from the *Alps* on the side of *Piedmont*. And his Royal Highness reciprocally yields to his most

most *Christian* Majesty, the Valley of *Barcelonetta* and its Appurtenances; so that the Summits of the *Alps* and the Mountain shou'd serve for Boundaries between *France*, *Piedmont* and the County of *Nice*, in such manner, that the Plains which are on the said Summits and the Heights shall be divided, and half of the River flowing from the side of *Dauphiny* and of *Provence* shou'd belong to his most *Christian* Majesty, and those on the side of *Piedmont* and the County of *Nice* shou'd belong to his Royal Highness of *Savoy*.

His most *Christian* Majesty also agrees for himself and his Catholick Majesty the King of *Spain*, that the Kingdom of *Sicily*, with the Islands thereon depending, should be yielded to the Duke of *Savoy*, and acknowledges his Royal Highness from this time to be King of *Sicily*.

The Cessions made by the late Emperor also to the Duke of *Savoy* of part of the Duchy of *Montferrat*, the Provinces of *Alexandria* and *Valencia*, with all the Lands between the *Po* and the *Tanaro*, the *Lomeline* and the Valley of *Sessia*, the *Vigevanese*, &c. are confirm'd to him.

His Royal Highness of *Savoy* also is left at liberty to fortify his Frontiers for the Security of his Dominions.

The Emperor having carried on an unfortunate War against *France* for almost a Year after the Peace had been concluded by the rest of the Allies, wherein he lost *Landau* and several other Towns of Importance, a Treaty was at length concluded at *Rastadt* between his Imperial Majesty and the most *Christian* King, on the sixth of *March* 1713-14. And it was agreed thereby, that the Treaties of *West-*

Westphalia, *Nimeguen* and *Ryswick* shou'd be the Basis and Foundation of this. Particularly his most *Christian* Majesty agreed to restore to the Emperor the Town and Fortrefs of *Old Brisac*, the Town and Fortrefs of *Friburg*, with the Fort of *St. Peters* and the *Star Fort*, and all other Forts in the *Black Forest*, or in *Brisgaw*, and the Fort of *Kehl* erected on the East side of the *Rhine* over against the Bridge of *Strasburg*. And it was agreed that the Fort of *Pile*, and others erected in the Islands of the *Rhine* near *Strasburg*, shou'd be demolish'd, and the Navigation of the said River remain free and open to the Subjects on either side.

His most *Christian* Majesty likewise promises to cause the Fortifications erected over against *Huninghen* on the right of the *Rhine*, and the Island therein, to be demolish'd at his Charges, as also the Bridge built over the *Rhine* at that place. That the Fort of *Selingen*, and the Forts in the Islands between *Selingen* and *Fort Lewis*, shou'd be demolish'd ; as also the Fort built over against *Fort Lewis*, and that it shou'd not be lawful for either of the Parties to re-edify the same ; but that *Fort Lewis* and the Island whereon it stands shall remain to the most *Christian* King. And in general he promises to raze, at his own Expence, all the Forts, Intrenchments, Lines and Bridges mentioned in the Treaty of *Ryswick*, and such as have been erected since that Treaty, either along the *Rhine*, or in it, or elsewhere within the Empire and its Dependancies, never to be repair'd again.

He promises also to evacuate the Castles of *Bitsch* and *Homburg*, after the Fortifications shall be demolish'd.

And

And as the most *Christian* King designs to re-establish a sincere Union with the Emperor and Empire, he promises, that in the Treaty with the Electors, Princes and States in the General Congress, he will restore whatever has been taken from them during the War.

On the other hand the Emperor consents that the Town of *Landau*, with its Dependancies, shall remain to his most *Christian* Majesty.

He consents also that the Electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* be restor'd to all their Dominions and Territories.

And further his most *Christian* Majesty confirms the *Spanish Netherlands* to the Emperor, with all those Countries and Places mention'd in the Treaty between *France* and the States General, to be yielded to the said States in favour of the House of *Austria*.

In pursuance of the Treaty between *France* 1714. and *Britain*, his most *Christian* Majesty, with *Dunkirk* abundance of Reluctance, demolish'd the Fortifications and fill'd up the Harbour of *Dunkirk* demolish'd. and under Pretence of discharging the Land-Floods, caus'd another Canal to be dug in the Neighbourhood of it, call'd the Canal of *Mardyke*, which was found capable of receiving Ships of greater Burthen than the former. This occasion'd heavy Complaints among some zealous *Britons* against the Sincerity of the Grand Monarch, and *George* Elector of *Brunswick* succeeding to the *British* Throne about this time, order'd Mr. *Prior*, his Minister at the Court of *France*, to deliver a Memorial on that Subject to his most *Chris-* Memorial *tian* Majesty. Mr. *Prior* hereupon represented, against that his *British* Majesty was very much surpriz'd to hear that the said Harbour was so making a new Harbour far there.

far from being fill'd up, according to the Treaty of *Utrecht*, that as large Ships might come up the old Canal to the Hornwork as ever; and as long as that Canal subsisted, it cou'd not be deny'd that there remain'd an Harbour at *Dunkirk* a thousand Fathom long, which was capable of holding several hundred Ships: whereas the Words of the Treaty were, That *Portus compleatur, the Harbour should be fill'd up, and Aggeres aut Moles diruantur, that the Dykes or Banks which form'd the Canal should be destroy'd.* He further represented, that his *British Majesty's* Surprize was still greater, when he was inform'd, that notwithstanding the Words of the ninth Article of the said Treaty were express, viz. *Ne dicta Munimenta, Portus, Moles aut Aggeres denuo unquam reficiantur,* that the Fortifications aforesaid, the Harbour and Dykes of *Dunkirk*, shall never be re-establish'd, they were actually at work to make a Harbour much larger than the old Canal, which was to come up, as the old Canal did, to the Town of *Dunkirk*, and that they had laid the Foundation of a Sluice much larger than the former, which serv'd to cleanse the Harbour.

Mardyke.

If Ships then can come up to *Dunkirk* by the old Canal, which was to the North, or by the new, which is to the West, *Dunkirk* will be equally an Harbour, equally troublesome and dangerous to the Commerce of *Great Britain*: In both cases the Treaty of *Utrecht* will be violated. And as the Expectation of seeing the ninth Article of the said Treaty executed in all its parts, was the chief Motive that induc'd *Great Britain* to accept the Peace of *Utrecht*, his *British Majesty* had order'd him to make the most pressing Instances that the said Canals shou'd be fill'd up.

To

To this Memorial his most *Christian* Majesty answer'd, That the Words *Portus Compleatur* cou'd never be interpreted as extending to the old Canal, which was very different from the Harbour. Nor cou'd he ever have engaged himself to fill up entirely a Canal which is a thousand Fathoms long; this wou'd have been an incredible Labour; and besides, wou'd have been to no purpose, because the Sea wou'd in a short time carry off what remain'd of the Dykes.

That the Canal of *Mardyke* was made to carry off the Waters of the Canals of *Furnes*, *la Moere*, *Bourg* and *Bourbourg*, which formerly were discharg'd by the Sluices of *Dunkirk*, and thereby prevent the over-flowing of great Tracts of Land. That those four antient Canals were altogether forty-eight Fathoms broad, and consequently it was necessary that the new Canal shou'd have a sufficient breadth to receive all those Waters, and carry them to the Sea. It was necessary also that the Sluices should bear Proportion with the Breadth of the Canal, and the Quantity of the Waters which they were to hold, for they were made to prevent the Tides getting up into the Country, and keep in the Waters of the four antient Canals at high Water. That these were the Motives which oblig'd the King to cause the new Canal of *Mardyke* to be open'd, but he had no View or Intention to make a new Port at *Mardyke*, or build a Town there.

This Dispute between the *French* and *British* Courts concerning the Harbour and Canals of *Dunkirk*, continu'd till the Year 1717, when the *French* put an end to it by the following Concessions, viz.

The Present State

The most *Christian* King desiring sincerely to perform every thing that has been heretofore stipulated with the Crown of *France*, and not to omit any thing that the King of *Great Britain* may think necessary for the entire Demolition of the Port of *Dunkirk*, and for removing all Suspicion that there was an Intention to make a new Port at the Canal of *Mardyke*, which might serve for some other Use than draining the Water which would drown the Country, and the necessary Commerce for the Subsistence and Maintenance of the People who inhabit that part of the Country, which is only to be carried on by small Boats, which are not allowed to be above sixteen Foot wide, his most *Christian* Majesty doth engage and promise to execute every thing which the *Sieur Iberville*, his most *Christian* Majesty's Envoy, having full Power for that purpose, did agree to at *Hampton Court*, as is contained in a Memorial of the 19th of *September* 1716, sign'd by the Lord Viscount *Townshend* and Mr. *Methuen*, Secretaries of State, on the part of *Great Britain*; which is as follows: That the great Passage of the new Sluice of *Mardyke*, which is forty-four Foot wide, shall be demolish'd from top to bottom; that is to say, by taking away all the Bajoyers, Boardings, Busks, Longrines and Traversines from the whole length thereof, and by taking off the Gates, the Wood and Iron-Work whereof shall be taken asunder; and all these Materials may be employed elsewhere, to such Uses as his most *Christian* Majesty shall think fit, provided however that they shou'd never be made Use of for any Port, Haven or Sluice, at *Dunkirk* or *Mardyke*, or any other place within two Leagues distance from either of these two places

places ; the Intention of the Parties contracting, and the end they propose to themselves by this Treaty, being, that no Port, Haven, Fortification, Sluice, or Bason, shall be made at *Dunkirk*, or the Sluice of *Mardyke*, or any other place whatever along the Shoar, at such distance upon that Coast. That the little Sluice shall remain as it is at present as to its Depth, provided the Breadth thereof be reduc'd to sixteen Feet. The Jettees and Fascinage from the Downs, or the place to which the Tide rises at high Water, down to the low Ebb along the Shore, shall be razed on both sides of the new Canal, and made level with the Shore ; and the Stones and Fascines that are above the said Level may be carried away, and employ'd for such Uses as his most *Christian* Majesty shall think fit ; provided however that they never be made Use of for any Port or Haven at *Dunkirk* or *Mardyke*, or any other place whatever, within two Leagues distance of any of these two places ; the Intention of the Parties contracting, and the End they propose to themselves by this Treaty, being, that no Jettee (or Dyke) or Fascin-Work, shall ever be made again upon the Shore of this Coast, at the distance aforesaid on either side. The Demolition of the Jettees (or Peers) on both sides of the old Canal of the Port of *Dunkirk*, shall be entirely finish'd and made level with the Ground, over all from the lowest Ebb to within the Town of *Dunkirk* ; and if there shall remain any piece of Fort-Blank chateauver'd, or *Bonne Esperence*, it shall be totally laid even with the Ground. When this Treaty shall be ratified, the King of *Great Britain*, and the Lords the States General of the *United Provinces*, may send Commissa-

The Tyranny of the French Administration.

Commissaries upon the place, who may be Witnesses to the Execution of this Article.

I proceed now to shew by what Methods the *French King* so long supported the Charges of the late War against most of the Princes of *Europe*. It is very evident that the Taxes, how high soever, nor even the Rents of all the Estates in *France*, if they had been brought into his Treasury, cou'd have enabled him to carry on the War. He found himself under a Necessity of seizing all the Coin belonging to his Subjects, which did not amount to less than an hundred millions in Specie : but this indeed he did by degrees, and under specious Pretences ; though when he found any of his Subjects obstinate, and determin'd not to part with their Money, they were compell'd to it by military Execution.

Alterations made in the Value of the Coin.

This was the Grand Resource whereby *Lewis le Grand* more than once restor'd his Affairs when they were look'd upon as desperate. But to descend a little to Particulars. The *Louis d'Or*, for Instance, which was current before the War at eleven Livres, was call'd in and receiv'd by the Officers of his Majesty's Mint at that Value ; after which the very same Piece having receiv'd a new Stamp, was paid back again to the Proprietor at twelve Livres, and sometime after at thirteen, whereby the King got twenty or forty Pence out of every *Louis d'Or*, without any other Charge than the Stamp. But the King having still further Occasion for Money, he order'd all the current Species to be brought into his Mint, and that it shou'd no longer be taken by private Persons. At first he return'd other Species in lieu of that which was paid at the Mint, but under Pretence it cou'd not be

be recoin'd fast enough to exchange, the Officers of the Mint were order'd to give Bills for the Value of the Sums they receiv'd, which were to be paid on demand when the new Species shou'd be coin'd : By this means he got all the ready Money into his Hands, and did not pay the Bills the Mint had given out. This we may be sure exasperated the People sufficiently ; whereupon he thought fit to order, that those Bills shou'd be taken in all Payments for ready Money. Nor did they only give out Bills for the Money brought into the Mint, but also for several millions more ; so that had the Monarch been so honest to have return'd Specie for the Specie he had receiv'd, yet he cou'd never have found Specie enough to discharge the supernumerary Mint-Bills, which had been given the Subject in Discharge of other Debts the Crown had contracted. At length these Mint-Bills lost their Credit so much, that the King thought fit entirely to suppress them, and give the People others in the room of them, sign'd by the Farmers and Receivers of the Revenue, who were order'd to pay off both Principal and Interest as the Taxes came into their Hands. But even these new Bills were at 35 and 40 *per Cent.* Discount at the Conclusion of the Peace at *Utrecht*.

Mint Bills given to the Subject for Specie.

In the mean time the Government having parted with almost all their ready Money to support the Charges of the War, and the Species being again come into the Hands of the Subjects, they found a new Expedient to draw it from them, namely, by crying down all the present Coin, and ordering it to be brought into the Mint under the severest Penalties, at the current Price, giving the Subject

The Money call'd in, and issued again at a higher Value.

Subject a new Species, on which they set a much higher Value, in the room of it : for Instance, the *Lewis d'Or*, the intrinsic Value whereof is not more than fourteen Livres, they issued at twenty Livres, and the Silver Species in proportion, which brought an immense Profit to the Crown, but entirely ruin'd their foreign Trade, for Strangers held up the Price of their Merchandize in Proportion to what they lost by receiving their Coin at such extravagant rates ; whereupon they found themselves under a Necessity of lowering the Coin again, which occasion'd unconceivable Losses to private People ; for a Man who look'd upon himself, suppose, to be worth twenty thousand Pounds in Cash one Year, the next found it reduc'd to fourteen or fifteen, notwithstanding the *Lewis d'Ors*, or Crowns he had in his Custody, continued numerically the same.

Some money'd Men however, observing that there were certain times fix'd for lowering the Coin gradually, thought of an Expedient to prevent these Losses, which was generally follow'd in *France*. They lent their Money to Merchants without Interest for eighteen Months, (being the time appointed for the last Reduction of the Coin) ; and the Merchants, in hopes that the Profits they shou'd make in that time wou'd exceed their Losses by the lowering the Species, very willingly took the Money, and gave Notes for it, and immediately imported such Goods from foreign parts as they knew were most wanted in *France*, particularly salt Beef, Butter, Cheele, and other Provisions from *England* and *Ireland*, which were then sold at extravagant rates in *France*. But the Market soon became

became over stock'd with these Goods, and they were sold thirty *per Cent.* cheaper than the prime Cost. Other People being of Opinion that the Bills on the Farmers and Receivers of the Revenue wou'd resume their Credit on a Peace with the Empire, laid out their Specie in purchasing those Bills at 40 and 50 *per Cent.* Discount: But the Government finding it impossible to pay off those Bills, which amounted to five or six hundred millions of Livres, made such bad Payments, that these new Adventurers were glad to part with their Bills again at sixty and seventy *per Cent.* Discount. These Practices naturally occasion'd the breaking of an infinite number of Merchants and Bankers all over the Kingdom, and reduc'd the People in general to the most miserable Circumstances, which were still heightned by the Methods some of them took to prevent their being involv'd in the common Calamity, as the sending many millions in Specie out of the Kingdom to avoid the Loss they were like to sustain by Bills of Exchange, or exporting their Treasure abroad to prevent his Majesty's seizing of it.

France reduc'd to the utmost Distress.

In this deplorable Condition was the Kingdom of *France* when *Lewis* the Fourteenth was summon'd to give an Account of his Administration. He found himself indispos'd on the eleventh of *August*, and on the fourteenth was seiz'd with the Cramp, Gout, and Sciatick Pains: on the twenty-fourth however he apprehended himself to be so well recover'd that he design'd to have din'd in Publiick, but was afflicted with such sharp Pains, that he order'd every body out of the Room, except Marshal *Villeroy*, with whom he remain'd in private two Hours. He told him that he saw his

Lewis XIV dies.

last Hour approaching, and must seriously think on Death ; and the same Day was taken with a violent Fever, and a Sore he had in his Leg appear'd to tend towards a Mortification : Whereupon he thought it proper to receive the *Viaticum* ; and on Sunday the first of September N. S. about eight in the Morning, he expir'd.

His Mar-
riage and
Issue.

This Prince was the Son of *Lewis XIII* and *Anne of Austria*. He was born the fifth of September 1638, and married *Maria Theresa*, Daughter to *Philip IV* King of Spain, Anno 1660 ; by whom he had Issue only one Son that liv'd, viz. *Lewis Dauphin of France*, who married *Mary Anne Christine*, Sister to the late Duke of *Bavaria* ; by whom he had Issue three Sons, viz. *Lewis Duke of Burgundy*, born Anno 1682 ; 2. *Philip Duke of Anjou*, now King of Spain, born Anno 1683 ; 3. *Gaston Duke of Berry*, born in 1684. *Lewis the Dauphin* died Anno 1711 ; whereupon *Lewis Duke of Burgundy*, his eldest Son, succeeded to the Title of Dauphin. This Prince married *Mary Athelred*, eldest Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, now King of *Sardinia*, Anno 1698, and died Anno 1712 ; leaving Issue of this Marriage three Sons, of which the two eldest, stil'd Dukes of *Britany* successively, dy'd soon after him in their Infancy ; but *Lewis* his third Son, born Anno 1710, surviv'd them all, and sits at present on the Throne of his Great-Grandfather *Lewis XIV*, of whose Marriages and Issue I shall speak hereafter. *Philip Duke of Anjou*, the second Son of *Lewis the Dauphin*, and Uncle to the present French King, succeeded to the Crown of Spain Anno 1700, by virtue of the late King's Will, *Charles II*, whose Marriages and Issue I shall take notice of in the

the Modern History of Spain. As to the Duke of Berry, the late Dauphin's third Son, he died without Issue.

The natural Children of Lewis XIV by Madam de la Valiere were Mary Anne de Bourbon, born in 1666, and married in 1680 to Lewis of Bourbon Prince of Conti, who died without Issue by her. By Madam de Montespan, 1. Lewis Augustus de Bourbon Duke of Main, born in 1670, who by his Wife Lovisa, Daughter to the Prince of Conde, has a Daughter call'd Mademoiselle de Aumale, born in 1697, and a Son Lewis Augustus Prince of Dombes, born in 1700 : 2. Lovisa Frances de Bourbon Mademoiselle de Nantes, born in 1673, and married to Lewis Duke of Bourbon in 1685, whose Children are Mademoiselle de Bourbon, born 1690, Lewis Duke of Enghien, born 1692, Lovisa Mademoiselle de Charolois, born 1693, and Lovisa Anne Mademoiselle de Sens, born in 1695 : 3. Lewis Alexander de Bourbon Count of Tholouse, born 1678, late Admiral of France : 4. Frances Mary de Bourbon Mademoiselle de Blois, born 1681. His Majesty's only legitimate Brother was Philip D. of Orleans, first married to Henrietta Maria, Daughter to Charles I King of England, by whom he had one Daughter, married to the Duke of Savoy : He was afterwards married to Charlotta Elizabeth, Daughter to Charles Lewis Elector Palatine ; by whom he had Issue Philip Duke of Chartres, late Duke of Orleans, who married Frances Mary de Bourbon Madam de Blois, by whom he had Issue the present Duke of Oleans, born Anno 1703, and four Daughters.

The Admirers of Lewis le Grand look upon his Life as one continued Series of Wonders ; even his Birth is esteem'd miraculous, his

Mother having had no Issue after a Marriage of twenty Years and upwards : Others on the contrary ascribe this extraordinary Birth to the Contrivance of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who with the Assistance of the Queen's Confessor, had persuaded her Majesty for the Good of the Church and State to admit the Embraces of several Gentlemen, among whom the Chevalier *le Grand*, Master of the Horse to *Lewis XIII*, was so happy as to give two Sons to the Royal Family, *Lewis XIV* being the eldest : but I must confess I give very little Credit to the Story, the Queen and the Cardinal continuing irreconcilable Enemies to the last.

The
Person of
Lewis XIV

As to the Person of this Prince, he was tall and every way proportionable, his Hair almost black, his Features tolerably regular, but his Face a little pitted with the Small-Pox ; he danc'd and perform'd all his Exercises perfectly well : his Character will best be discover'd by the History of his Reign ; Men seem to think of him very differently, according to the various Notions they entertain of Glory. But I shou'd not be forgiven by my Readers if I neglected to give some Account of his Amours. He is generally said to have had five avow'd Mistresses, besides other Ladies with whom he may have trifled away an Hour or two by the by.

His
Mistresses.

The first was *Mademoiselle de Mancini*, Cardinal *Mazarin*'s Niece, more admir'd for her Wit than her Beauty ; whom the King was so taken with, that he wou'd have married her if the Queen-Mother had not found means to divert him from it. When she was sent away, 'tis said, his Majesty shed Tears very plentifully.

Mademoiselle

Madamoiselle *de la Valiere*, one of the Dutchess of *Orleans's* Maids, was the next ; her Person was not very engaging neither, she was short and thin, and had a very bad Mien, her Teeth also were very indifferent, but she had an inexhaustible Stock of Wit, good Humour and Vivacity, which charm'd the Monarch, and is said to be the most generous and disinterested of all his Mistresses, never importuning his Majesty for any Favour for herself or her Friends, and behav'd herself with that Humility and Condescension to every body while she was in favour, that she was universally esteem'd. This Intrigue happen'd soon after the King's Marriage with the Infanta, for whom he had but very little Complaisance ; whereupon the Queen prevail'd on his Majesty's Confessor to lay before him the ill Consequences of that way of Life ; the King thank'd the good Father for his Advice, but let him know at the same time that he had no further Service for him. And 'tis observ'd, that the Opposition the King met with in his Amours rather augmented than diverted his Passion for *Madam de la Valiere*, who still remain'd sole Mistress of his Affections ; and so tender he was of her, that being in great Danger on her Delivery of a Daughter, he held her in his Arms, crying out to the Physicians, *Save la Valiere and take my Crown*. But even this Mistress was turn'd off at length to make room for another ; whereupon she retir'd into a Convent, where she is said to have compos'd half a dozen Verses on the Occasion in her own Language, which have been render'd into *English* thus,

For

*For me the Kings of Heaven and Earth have
 strove,
 Which of the mighty two shou'd gain my Love.
 But conquering Heaven has brought me to this
 Place ;
 What Earthly Happiness can mine surpass ?
 Since from the Greatest Prince's Mistress I
 Am now become Spouse to the Deity.*

The Countess of *Montespan*, a Lady of exquisite Beauty, succeeded *Madam de la Valiere*: As she was married, great Offers, 'tis said, were made to the Earl her Husband to procure his Consent; but no Considerations could move him to part with her voluntarily; whereupon his Majesty and the Lady struck up a bargain without him, and the unfortunate Nobleman thought fit to retire into the Country, that he might not be a Witness of his Disgrace. The Countess of *Montespan* made use of the Interest she had in the King to advance her own Relations; and having a great many Children by his Majesty, continu'd long in Favour at Court, though she had very little Merit besides her Beauty to engage the Monarch's Heart. *Mademoiselle de Fontange* was the next Object his Majesty cast his Eyes upon; she was a young Lady of abundance of Wit and good Humour, and had the Prudence to find out an advantageous Match for her self, before she was dismiss'd by the King.

Maintenon.

The celebrated *Madam Maintenon* succeeded *Fontange*; she was of the Family of *Aubigny*, and either born in *America*, or carried thither very young, and was brought to *Europe* again by the Governor of *Martinico*: While she

she was in this Family a young Marquis who admir'd both her Wit and her Beauty, made his Addresses to her. She was a tall Woman, well shap'd, and had an agreeable Mien ; her Hair was black, her Features regular, and had fine Eyes. The Marquis her Admirer either never intended to marry her, or satiated with Enjoyment, left her : However, he had the Honour to make her a Present of a Purse of Pistoles, of which she made so good use, that she found means of introducing her self into some of the best Families in *Paris*, where she met with the inimitable *Scarron*, who was exceedingly smitten with her Charms ; his Person indeed was somewhat deform'd, but as he was a Man of Quality and Estate, and of a most agreeable Conversation, she very readily consented to take him for better or worse. This Gentleman, 'tis said, took abundance of pleasure in polishing and improving her natural parts : But Madam *Maintenon*, or rather *Scarron*, had too ambitious a Soul to be content with leading a private Life, how agreeable soever ; having made some Acquaintance therefore with Madam *Montespan*, or some other of the King's Mistresses, she found means to make her self known to his Majesty, who was so charm'd with her Wit, that he thought her Conversation too great a Happiness for a Subject, and thereupon took the liberty of removing her from old *Scarron's* Bed to his own. As to her Person, she was now pass'd her Bloom ; but her Judgment was so improv'd, that she is said to have had the greatest share in the Administration ; and in effect to have supply'd the Place of Prime Minister as long as she liv'd. The King had no Children by her,

her, but several by her Predecessors, as appears in the account of his Issue.

Lewis XV. *Lewis XV*, the only surviving Son of *Lewis D.* of *Burgundy*, Grandson of the Dauphin, and Great Grandson of *Lewis XIV*, succeeded to the Crown of *France* on the first Day of *September 1715*, *N. S.* being then in the sixth Year of his Age. The late King by his Will appointed a Council of Regency consisting of the Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Maine*, the Count *de Tholouse*, the Chancellor, the President of the Royal Council, the Marshals *Villeroy*, *Villars*, *Uxelles*, *Tallard* and *Harcourt*, the four Secretaries of State and the Comptroller-General of the Finances; and order'd that the Person of the Minor King should be under the Guardianship of the said Council of Regency; that the Duke of *Maine* should have the Guardianship of his Majesty under the Authority of the said Council, and the Duke of *Villeroy* be his Governor under him; and that all the Officers of the King's Guard and Household should obey the Duke of *Maine's* Commands with respect to the Person of the King Minor, his Guard and Safety. He further order'd, That all Affairs which were to be determin'd by the King's Authority, either concerning War or Peace, the Disposal and Administration of the Finances, the Nomination of Persons to Bishopricks, Abbies, and other Ecclesiastical Dignities and Benefices; the appointing the Officers of the Crown, Secretaries of State, Comptroller of the Finances, and all Officers of the Army and Navy; the Officers of the Courts of Judicature and Finances; the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals in the Provinces and Towns; the Staff-Officers and Officers of the

the Household; and generally all Offices, Commissions and Employments, the filling whereof belonged to the King, should be considered in the Council of Regency, and determin'd by a Majority of Votes.

Notwithstanding the late King had appointed a Council of Regency, the Duke of Orleans, who was next Heir to the Crown in case of the Death of the Minor King, claim'd the Office of Regent as due to him by his Birth, to which he obtain'd the Concurrence of the Parliament of *Paris*, and thereupon assum'd an Authority equal to their greatest Princes; nor was *Lewis XIV* himself ever guilty of more arbitrary and destructive Measures, which the Duke endeavour'd to excuse from the Necessity he was under of extricating the Crown from that Load of Debts with which he found it oppress'd; for at the Grand Monarch's Death, it is said, that the Government was no less than three hundred millions Sterling in Debt, besides the vast Sums they had struck off by raising and lowering the Coin, &c.

The Duke of Orleans assumes the Regency.

The Regent, as usual at the beginning of an Administration, publish'd some popular Edicts, by one of which he restor'd to the Parliament of *Paris* their antient Privilege of debating and considering Acts of State that were transmitted to them before they pass'd them.

By another Edict dated the 12th of *October* 1715 he tells them, That being fully persuaded of the indispensable Necessity of keeping the Gold and Silver Species on the foot they were then fix'd for ever (being about the intrinsic Value) for preserving a just Balance in Commerce, which was the Basis and Foundation

He raises
the Coin.

dation thereof, the King ordain'd, That the last Value set upon the Species of Gold and Silver shou'd remain for ever fix'd without Alteration, viz. the *Lewis d'Or* at fourteen Livres, the Crown-Piece at three Livres ten Sols, and the other Species in Proportion. But the Duke of *Orleans* finding himself settled in his Regency without Opposition, within a Month afterwards publish'd another Edict, whereby he rais'd the *Lewis d'Or* to twenty Livres, and the other Species proportionably, on its being issued out of the Mint; though at the same time he oblig'd the Subject to pay them into the Mint at sixteen Livres; so that here the Government gain'd at once a fifth part of all the Money in the Kingdom. To make this still more plain, every Person who brought five *Lewis d'Ors*, or five Crowns to the Mint, receiv'd back but four in return, only the Government were pleas'd to set the same Value upon the four, as the five went at when they were paid in; and in this there might have been no great hurt, if those they dealt with, and especially Foreigners, had not rais'd the Price of their Goods in proportion to the Rise of the Coin, but a *Lewis d'Or*, whose intrinsick Value was but fourteen Livres, wou'd purchase no more Merchandize when it was rais'd to twenty, than it wou'd before, which enclin'd the Balance prodigiously against them.

Another Method the Regent took to raise Money, was the erecting a new Court of Justice, call'd the *Chambre Ardente*, to call all such Persons to an Account, as had been concern'd in the Management of the publick Revenues during the late War, out of whom he extorted very considerable Sums, to the great

great Satisfaction of the People, who were pleas'd to see the Instruments of their Oppression punish'd, and oblig'd to refund their ill gotten Treasure.

About the same time the Pretender and some of his Adherents having embark'd for *Scotland* in the Ports of *France*, the Earl of *Stairs*, the *British* Minister at that Court, presented a Memorial to the Regent, complaining of it: But this seems to have been all Grimace, for the Regent constantly gave Notice to the *British* Court of the Pretender's Motions from time to time; and if he did not stop those few Officers and Arms that were sent to *Scotland*, it was either because the opposing the Chevalier at that time of Day wou'd have disoblig'd a considerable Party in *France*, or because he knew those small Supplies cou'd be of little Service to him; and besides, his conniving at it might serve to conceal that intimate Correspondence there was all this while between the Regent and King *George*, which prov'd the Ruin of the Pretender's Designs.

The Disputes concerning the *Constitution Unigenitus* gave no small Disturbance to the beginning of the Regent's Administration; each Side hop'd to gain him over to their Party, and wrote and preach'd with all the Bitterness imaginable against one another. At length he hop'd to have accommodated the matter between them, by issuing an Edict, commanding the Recusant Bishops to accept it with certain Explanations. But this was far from putting an end to the Controversy, both Parties appear'd still more exasperated than ever.

1716.

The poor Protestants were in great Hopes the penal Laws against them wou'd have been relax'd during the Regent's Administration, but either he never intended them any such Favour, or he did not think fit to disoblige so great a Body as the Clergy, who perpetually importun'd him to put the Laws in Execution against them. Nor do we find their Sufferings at all abated during the Regent's Ministry; all that the King of *England* cou'd prevail with the Regent to do, was to release three or four score of those unhappy Wretches from the Gallies who had been sent thither purely upon the account of Religion.

A Dispute
between
the Prin-
ces of the
Blood and
the late
King's
base Issue.

The late King having legitimated his base Issue, and conferr'd the same Privileges on them as those born in lawful Wedlock, the latter preferr'd a Petition to his present Majesty and the Parliament on the 23d of *May* 1715, desiring he wou'd revoke and annul in his Seat of Justice, the Edict of the Month of *July* 1714, which gives to *Lewis-Augustus* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Maine*, and to *Lewis-Alexander* of *Bourbon* Count of *Toulouse*, and to their Descendants, the Right of succeeding to the Crown: as also the Declaration of the 23d of *May* 1715, which gave them the Title, Honours and Rank of Princes of the Blood.

Sign'd,

Lewis-Henry de Bourbon.
Charles de Bourbon. And
Lewis-Armand de Bourbon.

The

The Duke of *Maine*, in Answer to this Petition, publish'd a Memorial, wherein he asserts that such a Petition cou'd not be receiv'd in Parliament, because it requires them to abolish an Edict which they themselves had solemnly register'd, and to reverse their own Decrees. That the Duke of *Bourbon* himself also, and the rest of the Petitioners, had given their Consent to the same Edict, and therefore it was at least very indecent for them to endeavour to destroy it. That the granting such a Petition wou'd be of dangerous Example to the State, the People wou'd apprehend that there was nothing firm and settled, and that Edicts and Arrests might be subverted at Pleasure.

To this the Princes of the Blood reply'd, that both the Parliament and themselves were under a Force when they consented to those Edicts, and it wou'd have been to no purpose to have oppos'd them in the late Reign. That the King cou'd not alter the Constitution of the Kingdom, and transfer the Kingdom to his illegitimate Issue or Foreigners, and that such Acts of State therefore were void. But to this I perceive it was answer'd, that as the Kings of *France* were vested with the Legislative Authority, they might repeal or enact what Laws they saw fit, and cou'd not be bound by the Edicts or Customs of their Predecessors.

The Peers of *France* interest'd themselves in behalf of the Princes of the Blood, and presented a Petition to his Majesty, insisting that he wou'd annul and revoke the Edict and Declaration abovesaid, which gave the Duke of *Maine* and the Count of *Thoulouse* the first Rank after the Princes of the Blood, and vested them

them with a Right of representing the antient Peers at the Inauguration of their Kings.

An Edict
in Favour
of the
Princes of
the Blood.
1717.

This occasion'd a Petition from the Duke of *Maine* and Count *de Thoulouse* to his Majesty, desiring that he wou'd determine nothing in this Affair till he came of Age ; but in July 1717, an Edict was publish'd, whereby the King revok'd and annul'd the Edict of 1714, and the Declaration of 1715, decreeing however that his Uncles, the Duke of *Maine* and Count of *Thoulouse*, shou'd continue to receive the Honours they had enjoy'd in Parliament ever since the Edict of 1714, but that they shou'd neither of them be stil'd Princes of the Blood for the future.

The Czar of *Moscow*, a Prince whose Curiosity was never satisfied, arriv'd at *Paris* this Summer, and had the Satisfaction of viewing every thing that was worth taking notice of in that City and the Neighbourhood of it. He afterwards visited the Fortifications in *Flanders*, and especially those of the City of *Namur*, with which he was extremely pleas'd.

The be-
ginning of
the *Missis-*
sippi-Com-
pany.

This Year the *French* Court, in order to discharge that immense Debt which had been contracted by the Government to support the late War, laid the Foundation of the famous *Mississippi* or *India-Company*, which was to carry on a Trade to *Louisiana* or *Florida* with a Stock of fifty millions of Livres, and Shares were to be purchased in it with State-Bills. This Project appear'd so advantageous, that above thirty millions of Livres were immediately subscrib'd into it ; and together with the Annuities, Lotteries, and other Methods propos'd for disposing of State-Bills, they were in Expectation of discharging great part of their Debts very suddenly. But the Court had

had recourse to many other Projects for raising Money before this Scheme was brought to Perfection. That which was most grievous to the Subject was the frequent Alteration in the Value of the Coin, which the Duke of Orleans carried much further than ever *Lewis XIV* had done. When he found the People wou'd be no longer impos'd upon and wheedled out of their Money, he robb'd them of it by plain Force, as will appear hereafter.

The Government having at this time got most of the Money of the Kingdom into their Hands, recoin'd it, and rais'd the *Lewis d'Or* to 36 Livres, obliging those who had any State-Bills, or old Specie in their Hands, to bring them to the Mint and take new Specie in the room of them, whereby they cheated the People at one clap of two hundred millions of Livres. The Parliament observing how prejudicial this Practice wou'd be to the Publick, made a Representation to the Regent against it: to which it was answer'd, that the Matter had been duly consider'd, and cou'd admit of no Alteration.

1718.

Representation of the Parl. against the Alteration of the Coin.

The Parliament not satisfied with this Answer, drew up another Representation, setting forth the Unreasonableness of this Edict, wherein they demonstrate, that a Man who carries 125 Marks of Silver to the Mint, which makes 50,000 Livres at the rate of 40 Livres the Mark, and 2,000 Livres in State-Bills, receives back 7,000 Livres in new Specie, which weigh but 116 Marks, consequently he lost 9 Marks out of 125 he carried thither, and all his State-Bills over and above; and that foreign Trade also wou'd suffer an immense Loss by the Difference between the Value the new Edict gave to the Species and their

their intrinsic Value. The Regent told the Parliament he did not send the Edict concerning the new Species to them to debate upon, but to register it, and that they had nothing to do to intermeddle in the Affair. But this Body, to whom his Highness at the beginning of his Administration pretended to restore their Privileges, wou'd not part with them again so easily : They took upon them to prohibit all Persons to receive or tender the new Species in Payment. However after a long Struggle the Regent let them know he wou'd be obey'd, and they found he meant no more by all the glorious Promises he had made them, than by their Assistance to establish his Tyranny, and now he look'd upon himself to be secure, had no further regard to them.

The Court of Aids however were not discouraged from addressing his Majesty on the same Subject : They shew, that the Dearness of Provisions and Materials occasion'd by raising the Species wou'd be the utter Ruin of their Manufactures : That their Artificers, which former Alterations of the Coin had driven into neighbouring Countries, had instructed them in the Perfection of their Arts, and enabled them to make all those things in which the *French* formerly excell'd ; and by a fatal reverse, that which Foreigners formerly fetch'd from *France*, and purchas'd with Treasure, they now imported from abroad, and enrich'd other Countries with their Gold and Silver. That not only their Workmen wou'd be driven abroad, but many other People, whom the excessive Price of Provisions made it impossible to subsist here. That even in Times when the Kingdom was reduc'd to the greatest Extremity, the Alteration of the
Coin

Coin had never been carried to such an Excess as now ; whereas they had been promised on the Word of a King, which ought to be sacred, that the Species shou'd be reduc'd to its just Value so soon as the War was ended. That after they had been drain'd for so many Years to secure his Majesty in the Possession of his Throne against a numerous Confederacy, they were like to meet with no other Reward than an Edict which threw them into domestick Feuds, and overturn'd all their Fortunes ; an Edict which without the Name of a Supply, laid upon them the most heavy Tax was ever heard of.

While the Finances were in the utmost Confusion in *France*, and the Duke of *Orleans* was taking these oppressive and arbitrary Measures to discharge the publick Debts, which had exasperated all degrees of Men in the Nation, the King of *Spain* meditated how he might re-unite those Kingdoms and Provinces to the *Spanish* Monarchy which had been dis- Spain at-
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Provinces member'd from it during the late War : He seems also to have had a Design upon the Regency of the Kingdom of *France*, and the Succession to that Throne in case *Lewis XV* had died, who enjoy'd a very indifferent State of Health. The Opportunity seem'd extremely favourable, for the Emperor was then engag'd in a War with the *Turk*, and the intestine Troubles he observ'd in *France* were sufficient to discourage them from entering into a foreign War ; and as to the *English* and *Dutch*, the Advantages they enjoy'd by their Commerce with *Spain* he hop'd wou'd prevent their interposing in the Quarrel. The *Spaniards* therefore having fitted out the best Fleet they had been Masters of for many Years, and assem-
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A Confe-
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The Spa-
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1719.

bled a powerful Army, it was thought at first they had a Design against the Emperor's Dominions in *Italy*, which occasion'd an Alliance between the Emperor, *France* and *Britain* for the Security of their respective Dominions. The *Spaniards* however proceeded to invade the Island of *Sardinia*, then in the Emperor's Possession, and made themselves Masters of it in the Year 1717. The following Year they made a Descent in *Sicily*, of which the Duke of *Savoy* had been made King by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and almost the whole Island revolted to them: But a further Alliance having been enter'd into between the Empire, *France* and *Britain*, which obtain'd the Name of the Quadruple Alliance from the number of the Parties upon the States General acceding to it, it was resolv'd to oppose the Designs of the *Spaniards* with all their Might. Accordingly his *British* Majesty sent a Fleet into the *Mediterranean*, which defeated the *Spanish* Fleet, and transported such Numbers of the Imperialists from *Naples* to *Sicily*, as soon put a stop to the Progress of the *Spaniards* there, and the *French* prepar'd to attack them on the side of the *Pyrenees*; so that the War appear'd wonderfully unequal, the poor feeble Kingdom of *Spain* engag'd with four of the most potent Kingdoms and States in *Europe*. And as it might reasonably be expected, the *Spaniards* were oblig'd to accept of such Terms as the Confederates were pleas'd to grant them; they had lost *Port Passage*, *Fonterabia*, *St. Sebastians*, and the whole Province of *Guipuscoa*, nor cou'd they have hinder'd the *French* Army from penetrating even to *Madrid*, if they had not prevented it by accepting a Peace.

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This Attempt therefore of the *Spanish* Ministry to disturb the Peace of *Europe*, at first Sight appears very romantick: But it must be consider'd, that when they enter'd upon it, as the Emperor was engag'd in a War with the *Turks*, they cou'd not foresee the Success of their Arms, or the Peace that follow'd with the *Mahometans*. The King of *Spain* also had a considerable Party in *France*; nay, it is questionable whether there were not three parts in four of the Nation for him, who wou'd have been glad to have been under his Administration, rather than that of the Duke of *Orleans*. But it must be acknowledg'd that his Catholick Majesty did not sufficiently consider what a fine Army of veteran Troops the Duke of *Orleans* had in his Pay, an Army sufficient to suppress all Malecontents at home, and to have made a Conquest of the *Spanish* Monarchy, if he had not been supported by one Allie. Admitting it to be true, that the Duke of *Orleans* had no other Friends but the Soldiery, which were not the hundredth part of the Nation, yet the Man that commanded that hundredth part with Arms in their Hands, as *Cromwell* upon a like Occasion observ'd, would make no Difficulty in subduing the other ninety nine, the unarm'd Multitude. There is no depending on the Murmurs or Discontents of a People, how oppress'd soever, where there is a vast standing Army of regular Troops: It is in these every Monarch and State in *Europe* depends at this Day, much more than in the Affections of their Subj^{ts}. Another very gross Mistake the *Spaniards* made was, that the *British* Ministry would so far consider the Interest of Trade, that they would not fall out with them. That the

British Trade suffer'd extremely by this Conduct is very evident ; but whether the Ministry ever concern'd themselves much about it, still remains a very great Question. As to the *Dutch*, they did not come into the Quadruple Alliance till late, and then with so many Restrictions, that they did themselves no great Hurt. I come now to the Terms on which the Peace was made, which in short were these, That the *Spanish* Forces should evacuate *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, and that the King of *Spain* should accede to the Quadruple Alliance. As to the Conquests the *French* had made in *Spain*, it was agreed they should relinquish them ; but they were not oblig'd to make Satisfaction for the Men of War they had destroy'd at *Port Passage*, or any other Depredations ; though the *English* are still obliged to make good the Ships *Sir George Byng* destroy'd near *Sicily*.

Quadruple Alliance.

By the Quadruple Alliance (the Foundation of this Peace) the Emperor renounc'd all Right to the Dominions of the *Spanish* Monarchy, whereof his Catholick Majesty was acknowledged the Rightful Possessor by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and acknowledg'd *Philip V* to be lawful King of *Spain* and the *Indies*. King *Philip* on the contrary renounc'd all Right to the *Spanish* Dominions which his Imperial Majesty possels'd in *Italy* or the *Netherlands*.

And by the fifth Article it was agreed, that in case of failure of Male Issue of the Dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, the Queen of *Spain's* eldest Son should succeed to those Dutchies ; and if such Son should succeed to the Crown of *Spain*, then they should be inherited by her second and third Son successively, and so on.

And it was agreed, That it never should be allow'd

allow'd during the Lives of the present Possessors of the Dutchies of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, or their Male Successors, that any Forces, either of the Emperor's or the King of *Spain's*, or even of the Prince appointed to succeed, should be introduc'd into the said Dutchies: But for the Security of the said Succession, Garrisons not exceeding six thousand Men, should be put into the principal Towns thereof, consisting of *Swiss* Troops, to be paid by the contracting Powers, and that they should take an Oath of Fidelity to the present Possessors. And lastly, The said Parties Guaranty to each other their respective Territories and Possessions.

The King of *Sicily* having acceded to this Treaty, agreed with the Emperor to exchange the Island of *Sicily* for that of *Sardinia*; which we cannot suppose he did very willingly, but the Emperor was now in Possession of *Sicily*, and the contracting Powers had agreed it should be so, and he was from this time call'd King of *Sardinia*.

Notwithstanding the *French* were generally inclin'd to King *Philip* in this War with *Spain*, they were kept in such Awe by the standing Forces, that I don't perceive there was any considerable Insurrection in his Favour: The Duke of *Richlieu* and several great Men were secur'd on a Suspicion of being in that Interest. A Court of Justice also was erected in *Britany*, where the Malecontents were most numerous, and several Men of Quality executed for corresponding with the Enemy; and no doubt the other Provinces wou'd have declar'd for the King of *Spain* if he had been Superior in the Field, for never was any Country so peel'd and plunder'd by an avow'd Enemy, as the Subjects

Subjects of *France* were during the Duke of *Orleans's* Administration.

Royal
Bankesta-
blish'd in
France.

The next Project the Court fell upon to raise Money was the establishing a Royal Bank; in the Preamble to the Patent for it the most *Christian* King recites, That the *Sieur Law* soon after his Accession having presented him a Project for establishing a Bank, the Funds whereof shou'd be part of the Royal Revenue, it was examin'd in Council, but the Conjunction not being favourable, the *Sieur Law* then desir'd Permission to establish a Bank on Account of himself and such a Company as he shou'd form, which was granted him in *May 1716*. The Fund was to consist of six millions of *Livres*, making 1200 Actions or Shares of a 1000 Crowns in Bank each, payable to the Bearer, wherein both Subjects and Foreigners might be interested; the Usefulness of which Establishment in remitting the Publick Money without dreining the Provinces of their Specie, induc'd his Majesty to grant him his Protection. That the Success of this Project occasion'd the examining it again, and the King having found it very agreeable to the general Good of Commerce and to the Benefit of the Subject, it was thought proper the said Bank shou'd be continu'd under the Royal Name and Authority; for which End the King had purchased all the Actions or Shares in it, and was become sole Proprietor of them. For these Causes, &c. he declar'd and ordain'd, That from the first of *January 1718-19*, the said Bank shou'd be deem'd a Royal Bank, and a Director of it establish'd by the Crown, who shou'd receive his Orders from the Duke of *Orleans*.

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This Declaration being sent to the Parliament of *Paris* to be register'd, that Body disapprov'd the Project: They foresaw probably that they shou'd be oblig'd to take Bank Bills for their Cash, which in time might have as little Credit as other State Bills. The Court, however, determin'd to carry on the Design without their Concurrence, and publish'd another Arret thereupon, enjoining all Men to look upon the said Declaration as register'd in Parliament, notwithstanding it had been refus'd. His Majesty also declar'd further, that before the first of *March*, besides the general Office at *Paris*, there shou'd be establish'd particular Offices in the Towns of *Lyons, Rochelle, Tours, Orleans* and *Amiens*, consisting of two Chests, one of ready Money to pay Bills on demand, and the other in Bills to deliver to such as wanted them. That the Species of Bellon [a base mix'd Metal] and Copper Coin shou'd not be tender'd or receiv'd in Payments exceeding six Livres; and as to the Species of Silver, it shou'd not be receiv'd in Payment in any of the said Towns in Sums exceeding six hundred Livres, but that all great Sums shou'd be paid in Specie or Bank Bills. In *April 1719* we find the Stock of the Bank increas'd to one hundred Millions of Livres, and many People crouding into it, the Payments being at first well made.

About the same time the Court of *France* encourag'd another Project form'd by Mr. *Mississippi* Company *Laws*, which was to transfer all the Privileges of the *East-India-Company* to that of the *Mississippi* or *West-India-Company*, and unite them both in one Patent under the Title of *The India-Company*, and to their present Capital, which already consisted of an hundred millions

encouraged by the Court.

millions of Livres, they were permitted to add five and twenty millions more.

As a farther Encouragement to this great Company, the Treasurer of the Royal Bank was order'd to deliver them Bank Bills to the Value of twenty-five millions of Livres, in order to promote their Traffick to *Louisiana*: and in *July* 1719, in Consideration that the said *India* Company had agreed to advance the Government fifty millions of Livres in Specie, they obtain'd a Grant of all the Advantage arising from the Coinage of Gold and Silver for nine Years. An Arret also was publish'd for enabling the Directors of the Bank to issue two hundred and forty millions in Bank Bills, which with those issued out before, made their Stock to consist of four hundred millions of Livres.

Mississippi
Stock rises.

In *August* 1719 *India* or *Mississippi* Stock had obtain'd such Credit, that it was advanc'd to 900, that is, every Share of 100 Livers was sold for 900, notwithstanding there had been no Dividend of any Profit. This Success put Mr. *Laws* upon the boldest Attempts that ever were heard of: He undertook to advance the Government twelve hundred millions of Livres at 3 *per Cent.* Interest, towards the discharge of the Annuities and other National Debts; and to give fifty-two millions *per Ann.* for the general Farm of the King's Revenues, which was three millions and half more than the present Farmers gave: Both which Offers the Crown accepted, and in Consideration thereof enlarg'd their Term to fifty Years, to commence from *January* 1719-20. The Company were also empower'd to borrow the Sum of twelve hundred millions of Livres, in Consideration of their having advanc'd the like Sum to the Government.

It was very much doubted whether the *India-Company* would be able to borrow so vast a Sum as 1200000000 of Livres at so low an Interest as three *per Cent.* but the Nation was at this time (*September 1719*) so infatuated, that it appears they might have borrow'd twice that Money by the Methods they took. The first Essay they made was by selling out *Actions* or Shares to the amount of fifty millions of Livres at the rate of 1000 *per Cent.* (the Price of Stock being then at 1100.) This was immediately fill'd, whereby the Company gain'd five hundred Millions at once. Upon this Encouragement they sold fifty millions more at the same rate, which were purchased in one Day. Whereupon a third fifty millions were sold, for which they also found Purchasors in one Day's time : so that the Company, instead of twelve hundred Millions, offer'd to lend the Government fifteen hundred millions. This indeed was all Imaginary Wealth ; but it may be observ'd from hence, what an immense Debt the Crown of *France* still lay under, when fifteen hundred millions of Livres, or one hundred and fifty millions Sterling, would not discharge it, notwithstanding the many extraordinary means that had been taken to lessen it since the War.

The *French* Nation, according to my Author, was wonderfully pleas'd at this time : They thought themselves all rich, their Lands were rais'd to twice the Value, they expected wonderful Profits from the *India* Company, their Bank Bills were preferr'd to ready Money, and no Man thought it worth his while to attend his proper Trade or Business, they were all jumping into Estates at once.

Law made
Comptrol-
ler of the
Finances.

To keep up the Credit of Bank-Bills, of which there had been made out to the Value of six hundred and fifty millions of Livres, an Arret was publish'd in *December* 1719, which among other things cries down the current Species in a manner, and ordains that no Tender in ready Money should be good, and that only Bank-Bills should be accepted in Payment; and the Bank-Bills were at length encreased to a million of Millions. The Design of the Administration in this step began to be suspected, namely, that they intended to get all the ready Money of the Kingdom into their Hands, and pay their Debts with Paper, which kept up its Credit no longer than while the Ministry had serv'd their ends by it: However, Mr. *Laws*, for the great Service he had done the Court, in bubbling the People out of their Cash, and to give a Credit to his Scheme, was in *January* 1719-20 made Comptroller of the Finances.

On the 30th of *December* a General Assembly of the *India* Company was held at the House of the Royal Bank in the Presence of the Duke of *Orleans*, Regent, the Duke of *Chartres* and the Duke of *Bourbon*; where the Management of the Directors was approved, and it was agreed to divide *Forty per Cent.* their Stock or Actions being sold at this time at 1885, and Subscriptions at 1330 *per Cent.* The Lords and others who had enrich'd themselves by *India* Stock, thought they could not better secure their Wealth than by purchasing Jewels with it, and accordingly great Sums were sent out of the Kingdom for this purpose, which occasion'd the publishing an Arret prohibiting the wearing of Diamonds, Pearls and precious Stones, on pain of Forfeiture, and

a Penalty of ten thousand Livres ; forbidding on the like Penalty to import the same into the Kingdom.

The Court also suspecting that a great deal of Treasure was hoarded up by private Men, issued an Arret raising the Value of it, and permitting the Merchants to send it abroad for the Purchase of Merchandize, which occasion'd every body to bring it out, and discover what they had : Whereupon the Government immediately publish'd another Arret, lowering the Value of the Gold and Silver Specie, and requiring every Person to bring it into the Mint and take Bank-Bills for it, on pain of Forfeiture ; and because they imagin'd People would still endeavour to hide it, they gave the *India Company* a Power of entring all Noblemens Houses and Convents, as well as those of private People, and to search for Specie ; nor were the Royal Palaces excus'd : Which, 'tis observ'd, was such an Act of Tyranny as the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* could never parallel. These cruel and oppressive Practices, with the Court's disposing of all their Stock at once, tumbled it down as fast as it rose, and an infinite number of unfortunate Wretches found themselves ruin'd in an Instant. And lest the People should convert any of the Coin they had left, into Plate, the making of Gold Plate above an Ounce Weight was absolutely prohibited ; as was the making of Silver Plate without the King's Permission, which was to be granted only for Table-Plate of a certain Weight. It appears that within three Months before this Prohibition, by an Account taken from the Books of the Silver-Smiths in *Paris*, they had made an hundred and twenty thousand dozen of Plates, besides

Dishes, and other Plate in their Possession; and reckoning each dozen of Plates at sixty Pounds sterling, the Value of the Plates only amount to seven millions two hundred thousand Pounds sterling.

1720.

In the Year 1720, the Ministry publish'd an Arret, whereby *Mississippi* or *India-Stock* was reduc'd to 500, and Bank-Bills, which the Court had paid away as ready Money, were reduc'd to one half, a Bill of a thousand *Livres* being declar'd to be worth but five hundred; and indeed their Credit was now so very low, that People refus'd to take them for any thing, whereupon another Arret was issued, to oblige the People to take them. This threw every thing into Confusion, and the Regent was forc'd to place Guards in the Market-places to prevent Tumults; no body wou'd part with their Goods without four times the Value of them. Money growing extremely scarce, the Court, in order to render it more plentiful, repeal'd their Edicts, which prohibited People to keep Money by them, and order'd them to recall all the Money they had sent abroad into foreign Countries, on Pain of forfeiting double the Sums they had beyond Sea. They also oblig'd them to sell all their Jewels to Foreigners, which it was suppos'd would occasion a great deal of Specie to be imported.

In the mean time the publick Debts seem to be as far from being paid as ever, unless wiping off part of the Score may pass for Payment. The Government, 'tis true, had paid them in *India-Stock* and Bank-Bills, but then those Bills ought to have been paid when the Bearers came for their Money; instead of which comes out an Arret, which has been mention'd

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mention'd already, that they shou'd pass for half the original Value, so that here at one dash the Ministry got rid of half their Debts ; but this wou'd never be call'd Payment among private Men, it wou'd rather be deem'd down right Robbery. Nor did the Government do their Business by halves, but before the end of the Year Bank-Bills and Paper-Money was cry'd down, and nothing receiv'd in Payment but the Gold and Silver Species. About the same time Mr. Law was remov'd from all his Employments, and oblig'd to leave the Kingdom to satisfy the Clamours of the People : the Government however were so grateful to him, for putting them in a way to pay their Debts by cozening the Subject, that they suffer'd him to carry off an immense Treasure, and even assisted him in his Retreat, and screen'd him from the Fury of the People, from which he might have found it difficult otherwise to have escaped. The general Farm and the Coinage were soon after taken from the *India-Company*, and every thing return'd to its usual Channel. As to the Commerce with *Louisiana*, this by consequence came to nothing, nor did those in the Secret ever hope to make much of it, though to bubble and amuse the People they were at the Charge of fitting out and freighting an hundred Ships, with which they never attempted to make one single Settlement, or carry on any one Branch of Trade, so that it appear'd in the end to have been only a foolish and unnecessary Expence ; whereupon the *Mississippi* or *India-Company*, was absolutely dissolv'd, and the Trade to the *East* and *West-Indies* put on another foot,

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The
Plague
brought
into
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Turky.

The Ravages made in *France* by the *Mississippi* Project, and the Oppressions of the Government, were not the only Misfortunes that befel that People this Year, for *South France* was visited also with the Plague, which swept away a multitude of the Inhabitants. It was brought to *Marseilles* by a Ship that arriv'd there from *Sidon*, on the 15th of *June* 1720, N. S. The Porters employ'd in unloading the Vessel, were immediately seiz'd with violent Pains in the Head, Reachings to vomit, and a general Faintness; soon after they broke out in Blotches and Buboës, and died in three Days. But the Magistrates of *Marseilles* apprehending that the Trade of the City wou'd be lost if the Report of their having the Plague amongst them prevail'd, gave out that the Distemper was only a malignant Fever; whereupon the Merchants went to the Fair of *Beaucaire* in *Languedoc*, as usual at this Season, and by that means dispers'd it through all the Southern Provinces. In *Marseilles* alone, it was computed, that in the Month of *September* there had died no less than forty thousand People.

The Government were no sooner acquainted that the Distemper which carried off such Numbers in *Provence* was the Plague, but they order'd all Communication to be cut off with the places infected, and publish'd an Edict, containing Rules and Directions to be observ'd during this Calamity, which very well deserve a place in the Modern History of *France*, tho' by no means fit to be imitated in Countries that have any Remains of Liberty or Property left.

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As soon as the King's commanding Officers have Notice that any places are affected with the Contagion, they must, without the loss of one moment, cause them to be invested at the distance of half a League, or thereabouts, so that such a part of Ground may be left as may afford them the most necessary Supplies for their Subsistence. They are at that distance to dispose into Barracks the Troops which form the Blockade, and to post their *Corps de Garde* so near, that they may see each other, or easily hold Communication by the Sentinels, to keep Patrols continually all Night long, and to employ Officers of good Understanding, vigilant and inflexible, to take care of the Blockade.

Rules observ'd in the Countries infected.

If the Distemper spreads into Houses situate at distance from others, so as that they cannot possibly be included within the Blockade, it is left to the Prudence and Discretion of the commanding Officer, after he shall have given Orders for removing the Sick of such Houses into the nearest Infirmaries, and for the conducting those who remain Sound into Houses for Quarantain, either to cause the Doors and Windows of the aforesaid Houses to be fastned up, or to burn them if he judge it necessary.

As there are few places where the Inhabitants finding themselves block'd up, do not attempt by Force to open themselves Passage and recover Liberty, it is proper to cause Orders to be publish'd and affix'd, forbidding any on Pain of Death to stir out of the places block'd up; and if, notwithstanding such Prohibition, any Preparations be made to force the Blockade, the Officer who commands is not to hesitate a moment, but to advance with the

the best of his Men, having their Bayonets at the Muzzles of their Pieces, in sight of the places block'd up, and threaten the Inhabitants to burn their Houses and Goods, and put them all to the Sword, if they offer to make any such Attempt ; yet without firing upon them, unless it be very proper, and in case of Necessity.

If by Accident some of the Inhabitants shou'd escape the Watchfulness of the Guards, they must, whithersoever they go, be pursu'd and taken with Precaution, so as that they may not communicate the Infection ; and being brought back within their own Bounds, they shall be shot dead in the View of their Fellow Townsmen : an Example absolutely necessary for keeping them under due Restraint.

Within the Extent of the Blockade, two Barriers are to be fix'd at the nearest places, for furnishing the Inhababitants of the place block'd up with what they may want, on settled Days of the Week. A prudent Officer shou'd be plac'd at each Barrier with a Detachment, to prevent Communication ; and there must be Vinegar there, in which the Money is to be dipp'd, as well as all Letters, which are to be sent open, and not under Cover, or folded up.

All Dogs and Cats are to be kill'd, as well within as without the Blockade, for a League distance at least ; Experience having shewn, that though those Animals are not affected with the Distemper, they frequently communicate it.

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No Persons must be suffer'd to come to the Posts of Guard at the Blockade, to speak to any whomsoever, that being to be permitted only at the Barriers, otherwise great Inconveniencies may happen.

The Commanding Officers shall forbid, on pain of Death, the Troops who form the Blockade to advance ten Foot from the Line towards the place which is block'd up; and shall order the Guards at the Posts to fire upon their Comrades who shall transgress this Rule. This Precaution is absolutely necessary for preventing the Communication of the Soldiers with the infected places.

It is of great Importance, that five or six Leagues round the places infected, all the Towns, Villages and Cottages should be shut up, were it only with Ditches, and that there should be no Entrance but at one passage only, where a Barrier should be plac'd with a good Guard, to examine Passengers, their Baggage or Goods, and peruse the Bills of Health, which they ought to carry about them. As to this inclosing or shutting up of such Towns and Villages, all that is possibly practicable ought to be done.

The Bills of Health ought to contain the Particulars, Quantity, and Quality of the movable Baggage or Merchandize which the Persons presenting such Bills have with them; and if they have any thing found with them, besides what is specified therein, the same shall be burnt without Remission, and the Bearers of such Bills shall be put into Prison for some time, and be liable to greater Punishment, according to the Degree and Consequences of their Offence.

The Commanding Officers shall warn the Consuls, or other Municipal Officers, not to give Bills of Health, especially in the Case of removing from usual Habitation, but to such Persons only whom they are very sure of, and they shall be careful to stop all those who shall be suspected of having counterfeit Bills, and if any one so stopp'd shall make his Escape, they shall cause him to be pursu'd, and when taken, shot dead.

The said commanding Officers shall take care to send to the Officers at the Barrier of the Blockade, a List of the Current Price of each sort of Provisions, or other Commodities, with order to cause them to be deliver'd at those Rates, for the avoiding the Exactions to which the Inhabitants of Places block'd up are expos'd. But this Article ought to be executed with great Prudence and Circumspection, lest the Neighbours should be discouraged from bringing Supplies to the Barriers, it being better to let Goods be sold a little dearer, to places shut up, than to put them to the Risque of wanting them. The chief Officers ought also to be very careful to chuse in the places infected, some Person capable of commanding there, with a number of armed Men who may be depended upon, to see the Orders of the Municipal Officers executed, and to give all Encouragement to the latter to acquit themselves well of their Duty by animating them even by Promises of Rewards from Court, upon the Representations which those commanding Officers will send thither of their Conduct.

Within the Places infected the first Care of the commanding Officers and of the Municipal Officers should be to establish one or more

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Infirmaries, according to the Necessities and the Abilities of the place infected, they ought to chuse as much as is possible for this Use Houses separate and distant from the place, and see even whether they cannot set up Barracks for receiving the Sick, which many think is much the better method.

Whatever place is chosen for an Infirmary, care must be taken to cause the Sick to be carried thither upon the first Tokens of the Plague that appear upon them.

It is necessary besides to have other Houses, some of which should be appointed for receiving those who grow well, as soon as they are in a Condition to be removed thither ; and others for those who tended the Sick, or who stay'd with them, to perform Quarantain in.

The Houses which shall be appointed for these two uses should also be chosen at some distance from the other Houses of the places infected.

When a rich Person is carried to the Infirmary, his Quilts and Sheets shou'd be carried thither with him, and the Straw-Mats and Bedclothes, the Wearing Apparel and Linnen which were used about the Body of the Sick, must be burnt, it not being sufficient to steep and wash them with Wood-Ashes, which in several places has not prevented the communicating of the Contagion by such Linnen.

At the time the Sick are carried into the Infirmaries care must be taken to have their Houses perfum'd with a strong Perfume, then to let open the Windows, and keep the Door fast for forty Days, after which it must be perfum'd again in the ordinary manner for its thorough Disinfection, before any be permitted to dwell in it.

To these Directions is annex'd the Receipt of a Perfume which has been us'd in *Provence* with Success.

It is necessary to have a number of Men that can be depended on, always arm'd, to make those who bury the Dead do their Duty, and to hinder all Communication with suspected Houses, to shoot dead any employ'd in the Infirmaries, Buriers of the Dead, or private Persons, and even Women, who shall steal or hide the Bed-cloaths or Apparel of those infected with the Plague. It is also necessary to have in the Infirmaries honest Persons for Intendants, whose great Care ought to be to cause the Bed-cloaths and Apparel of those brought thither to be burnt, but to save their Quilts and Sheets, which may serve other infected Patients. The Community is to make good to the Owners, if poor, the Apparel burnt, if in a Condition to do it, if not, it must be endeavour'd to be made up by Charity and Alms, which ought in an especial manner to be applied to this Use.

It has been practis'd with Success in *Provence*, to pay to private Persons the Price of the Bed-cloaths or Apparel they brought in, or which they gave an Account of to the Parish-Priests; without which Method it is almost impossible to stop the progress of the Contagion, because there are always such things in the Hands of some miserable Creatures, who will sell them, tho' at never so small a Price, to others: the Charge of purchasing whatever shall be produc'd is inconsiderable, and will be a very great Good.

The Bishops shall be desir'd to give Order, that Divine Service may not be perform'd in the Churches, because of the Danger of the

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Communication, but in places quite open to the Air, or in the Field. No Assembly or Concourse of People of what kind soever is to be suffer'd during the continuance of the Contagion, nor till a long time after it has ceased.

By concert with the Bishops and Parish-Priests, convenient places shall be appointed for interring the Bodies of those who die of the Plague; the Pits for them must be 12 Foot deep at least, and care must be taken to have Lime to throw into those Pits, in a sufficient quantity, for consuming those Bodies.

The Shops of Mercers, Drapers, and others dealing in Goods susceptible of Contagion, are to be kept shut as long as it lasts, and till sufficient means have been used afterwards for their intire disinfection by perfuming: But the Shops of those who sell the necessary Provisions to support Life, and whose Houses are not suspected, are to be open.

Whereas the Physicians and Surgeons do often withdraw themselves, or will not attend the Sick, if they cannot be brought to their Duty by Motives of Religion and Honour, or by the Promise of a reasonable Gratuity, they must be compell'd to it, in case of necessity, by the Fear of a Death more certain and more speedy than that they would avoid.

Those who command without the infected places ought especially to be very active in procuring them all necessary Supplies for their Subsistence; and if those places want Money to buy sufficient Provisions, they are to give Notice to the Commander in chief, or to the Intendant of the Province, who shall oblige the neighbouring Communities, that are able, to advance Money to them, which they shall be

be afterwards reimburs'd ; and as some Communities, especially in such a time as this, are not able to purchase what is necessary for furnishing their Infirmaries, in that case the private Persons of Substance in those places shall be oblig'd to advance the Sum necessary, according to a Tax which shall be laid on them by the Municipal Officers, who shall promise in the Name of the Communities to reimburse those private Persons.

As to the appointing and furnishing of Infirmaries, it must not be delay'd till the places are actually visited with the contagious Distemper, but the places in the Neighbourhood of those which are infected must be oblig'd to have their Infirmaries ready in case of Accident ; for which Purpose there must be collected from the Inhabitants such a number of Straw-Mats, Quilts and Sheets as each can furnish, allowing them to set their Marks on them, to the end each may have again what he contributed, in case the Distemper shou'd not come into the Place, or that the same may be made good to them by the Community if the Contagion shou'd enter, and if afterwards it shou'd be necessary to burn what was lent for the Use of the Infirmaries.

Those who shall be cured of the Plague shall not be at liberty to converse with the other Inhabitants of the Place till after they have perform'd two Quarantains, and till after they have been perfum'd more than once, and had in general all they wore about them burnt.

The Fines, which may often be levy'd for breach of Orders not deserving Death, shall be applied to the Use of the Poor of the Place, and probably the best use that Money can be

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put to will be to buy them Cloaths, instead of those which shall have been burnt.

*The Composition of the Perfume (recommended A Com-
in the Directions to be observ'd by Order of the Go- position
vernment of France, with relation to the Plague) for the
is as follows :* Plague.

To make a Quintal (or hundred Weight) of Perfume, take common Brimstone, Gun-Powder, of each fifteen Pounds ; Pitch Refine, Black Pitch, of each seven Pounds and an half ; White Arsenick, Orpiment, Cinabar, Antimony, Reagal (or Red Arsenick) of each half a Pound ; in the want of Reagal put four Ounces of Red Precipitate ; Ivy Berries, Juniper Berries, of each fourteen Pounds ; the said Berries to be roasted, and the whole to be reduc'd to a very fine Powder, and to be well mix'd together : For the Body and Basis of this Perfume take twenty-five Pounds of Bran dry'd, in which the fore-mention'd Ingredients are to be mix'd ; the Person that mixes them, with a long Wooden Spatula, should be muffled in such a manner that he may not draw in the Dust with his Breath. For perfuming a Chamber of fifteen Foot square use one Pound and half of the Perfume, and for larger or lesser Chambers the Dose must be in proportion.

The Method of Perfuming is this ; All the Windows must be clos'd, the Chimneys stop'd, and generally all Holes by which Wind and Air might penetrate ; the Closets, Presses Cabinets and Trunks are to be set open ; the other Household-stuff to remain in its usual situation : then a Wisp of Hay of three or four Pound weight is to be laid in the midst of the Floor, the Dose of Perfume is to be spread upon it, and the Person who sets it on fire is
to

to retire out of the Chamber as quick as he can, fastening the Door after him. Care must be taken, if wearing Apparel, which is not suspected, be found in infected Houses, that they be hung up upon Pegs, or otherwise, that they may thoroughly receive the Perfume; and great care must be taken to secure the Doors, and stop up the Chimneys and Holes in such a manner that the Smoak may not get out.

Twenty-four Hours after the Windows may be set open, and all the Openings unstopp'd, and the Chamber be left airing for three Days before any one lye in it.

For perfuming Persons the same Composition of Brimstone, Gun-Powder, Pitch Refine, Ivy-Berries, Juniper-Berries and Bran is to be used; leaving out all the Arsenicks and the Antimony. The Quantity or Dose for a Person may be one third less than that above specified for a Chamber.

It must be acknowledged that the Measures taken by the Court of *France* to prevent the spreading of the Plague, were of infinite Service to the Northern Provinces of the Kingdom; for though it continu'd a Year and half in *Provence* and *Languedoc*, and destroy'd vast Multitudes of People there (especially at *Marseilles* and *Toulon*) it never reach'd further. People generally look upon the Plague as an extraordinary Judgment of Heaven; though it is evidently the Sense of all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, that it may be spread or avoided by human Means, or they would not oblige Persons coming from Places infected to perform Quarantine. The same may be said in this case of drawing Lines of Circumvallation about the places infected, and using such other

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Precautions as we see the *French* did, which certainly prevented the spreading of the Contagion. And indeed, though we all allow that Heaven can inflict Diseases whenever it sees fit; yet on the other hand it must be granted, that they may sometimes be avoided and remov'd, and frequently are, by Human Means; or to what purpose is the Profession of Physick.

But notwithstanding the drawing Lines, and compelling People to remain in places Infected, removing a wealthy Man from his Family, and burning his House and Effects, are Methods practis'd in arbitrary Governments, a Law to authorize these rigorous Proceedings may be very dangerous in a Land of Liberty; for under this Pretence, (allowing the Court to be Judges of the Necessity of putting them in Practice) how precarious must such a Law render the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the Subject? Better one Generation suffer by the Plague, than their whole Posterity be reduc'd to a State of Slavery, and plagu'd for ever after.

The Pestilence it self does not seem more intolerable than the Acts of Tyranny and Oppression committed during the Administration of the late Duke of *Orleans*. The Parliament of *Paris*, to their eternal Honour be it spoken, constantly oppos'd the *Mississippi* Project, and the rest of his destructive Schemes: They had Wisdom enough to see through them, and Resolution to refuse the registering such Edicts as evidently tended to the Ruin of their fellow Subjects. The Duke Regent hereupon assembled an Army of forty-five thousand Men, and quarter'd them in *Paris* and the Neighbourhood of that City, in order

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to keep the Parliament in awe ; and being still apprehensive of an Insurrection, he order'd that high Court to remove to *Pontoise*, a Town about six Leagues from *Paris*, on Pain of their being declar'd Rebels ; which Order they were oblig'd to comply with, and here they remain'd a considerable time. And to mortify them still more, the Regent erected a new Tribunal to register Edicts, and administer Justice during the Vacation or Recess of the Parliament, with the same Powers as the Parliament us'd to exercise. In the mean time the Miseries of the People were inexpressible, as appears from some Passages in a Letter from the Bishop of *Castres* to the Marquis of *Vrilliere*, Secretary of State, in which he acquaints him with the Reasons that hinder'd the People of his Diocese from contributing to the Relief of those Countries afflicted with the Plague, so largely as otherwise they wou'd have done.

‘ Notwithstanding my utmost Endeavours,
‘ my whole Diocese has rais'd no more than
‘ one hundred Pistoles in Money, and five
‘ thousand Livres in Bills and other Paper
‘ Effects, the Inundation of which has done
‘ us an inconceivable Mischief : Here is no
‘ more Trade, no more Confidence ; even the
‘ most prudent and diligent have no way left
‘ to subsist : The Decay of Trade has render'd
‘ even Industry it self insignificant and useless :
‘ Want of Trust breaks all Friendship, and
‘ makes Men cautious of lending their Money
‘ to their Friends and nearest Relations, tho'
‘ formerly they parted with it chearfully to
‘ Strangers. Charity it self, which always
‘ contrives Methods of doing good, has her
‘ Hands tied, since *there is now no other way*

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' left her, than to weep with those that despair
 ' of ever having their Tears wip'd away. I daily
 ' expect to see my Clergy so far reduc'd, that
 ' they will not be able to exercise their
 ' Functions; and the poor Nuns wanting the
 ' Relief their Friends us'd to give them, will
 ' be oblig'd to leave their Cloysters to seek
 ' for Bread. *There is nothing of an Hyperbole*
 ' in what I say, it is the simple naked Truth,
 ' so that I find it impossible to execute the
 ' Orders of his Royal Highness successfully.
 ' If the People would still be satisfied with
 ' Bank-Bills, and other Paper-Securities, they
 ' may have enough of them, but we have no
 ' Money left.

Amidst the many Misfortunes that *France* Stock-
 underwent at this time, the People were in- Jobbers
 finitely pleas'd with one Act of Justice of the oblig'd to
 Regent's, which was the erecting a Court to refund
 enquire what Persons had got Estates by Stock- their ill-
 jobbing in the *Mississippi* Adventure, and ob- gotten
 liging them to refund, whereby he acquir'd a Goods.
 prodigious Sum of Money. And indeed who-
 ever were Losers by that Variety of Projects
 which were set on Foot at that time, the
 Gentlemen in the Administration were always
 sure to be Gainers. And this occasion'd some
 other Courts, no doubt, to take the Hint, and
 follow the Steps of the *French*, as far at least
 as their respective Constitutions would ad-
 mit.

A Match being propos'd between the most The
 Christian King *Lewis XV*, and *Maria-Anna* French K.
Victoria, Infanta of *Spain*, his Majesty declar'd marries
 his Assent to it in Council on the 17th of Sep- the In-
 tember N. S. though this Princess was then but fanta.
 in the fourth Year of her Age, being born the
 31st of *March* 1718. This, 'tis generally said,

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was another Project of the Duke Regent's, to establish the Succession in his own Family, for if the King had died without Issue, the Duke of *Orleans* or his Posterity wou'd have inherited the Crown of *France*. But to proceed. Were we to judge of the Condition of this Kingdom from the vast Preparations that were made to receive the Infanta, or by the Splendour of the Court at the Audience of the *Turkish* Ambassador about the same time, we might esteem *France* one of the richest and happiest Countries in *Europe*. The King's Robes were cover'd with Diamonds and precious Stones at that Audience to the Value of twenty-five millions, and weigh'd thirty-five or forty Pounds Weight : All the Princes of the Blood and great Officers of the Crown were cloath'd in the richest Habits ; and in the great Gallery were plac'd three hundred Ladies of the first Quality, who dazled the Eyes of the Spectators with the Brightness of their Jewels and other Ornaments : No Cries of the miserable cou'd reach these happy Seats : The wretched starving People, whose Spoils had contributed to render the Court thus glorious and resplendent, were driven far from hence. No Foreigner cou'd imagine from the Gaiety of the Court, that the Subjects in general were labouring under the most exquisite Calamities, as beyond Contradiction they were, if the above-cited Relations may be credited ; There is no making an Estimate consequently of the Happiness of a People from the shining Appearance of a Court and its immediate Dependants.

At the same time the Marriage was agreed on between his Catholick Majesty and the Infanta, another was concluded between the
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Prince of the *Asturias*, eldest Son of *Spain*, and Madam de *Montpensier*, Daughter to the Duke of *Orleans*, and the two Princesses were exchanged in the *Isle of Pheasants*, on the Frontiers of *France* and *Spain*, the ninth of *January* 1721-2, and on the second of *March* following the Infanta made her publick Entry into *Paris*, where she was receiv'd with all the Honours the Court of *France* cou'd pay to the young Queen.

The Finances were still in a wretched Condition; the State-Bills which the Government had issued out were at 75 *per Cent.* Discount, and not long after became worth little or nothing, the Ministry issuing an Order for their Liquidation, as 'twas call'd; that is, they reduc'd them as low as they pleas'd; a Person that had an hundred Pounds due to him by a State-Bill, was oblig'd to take another Bill in lieu of it for five Pounds or less; and thus the Debts of the Crown, which were said to be so great in one of the King's Declarations that they cou'd not be computed by Arithmetick, were reduc'd to a very moderate Sum, a Method of paying of Debts that some other Countries possibly may be oblig'd to imitate, who mortgag'd their Revenues to maintain their Confederates in the late War.

1722.
State Bills
worth
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The Duke Regent thought fit about this time to displace Marshal *Villeroy*, Governor to his most *Christian* Majesty, and to put the Duke of *Charost* in his room, and some Days after communicated his Reasons for it to the Foreign Ministers, the Substance of which were, that the Marshal had insinuated things to the Disadvantage of his Royal Highness; that he refus'd to retire when the Regent came to talk with his Majesty in private; and that
the

Marshal
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displac'd.

the Marshal aim'd at rendering himself independent of the Regency. The Cardinal *du Bois* was immediately afterwards constituted Prime Minister, and on the twenty-fifth of *October* the King was crown'd at *Rheims*, at which Ceremony the Infanta-Queen was not present, but remain'd at the Palace of *Ver-sailles*.

1723.
A new
Sect.

A new Sect of Fanaticks were discover'd at *Montpelier* in the Year 1723, of whom some were condemn'd to Death, others imprison'd, and some sent to the Gallies. The Government gave a very imperfect Account of their Principles, or the Reasons of these severe Proceedings against them: They relate only, that the Civil Magistrate being assisted by a Guard of Soldiers, broke open the Doors where these People were assembled, and that a Man dress'd in a white Surplice demanded of the Officers in a big Magisterial Voice, what they would have; to which the Provost made no Answer, but knock'd him down: That another of them on his Knees, holding a Book in his Hand, cry'd out to the Soldiers, *Reverence the Word of God*: That several more of them being dress'd in Albs or Surplices, the commanding Officer ask'd one of the Congregation who they were, and was answer'd, They were the Levites of the Holy Ghost: And as they were pulling down their Sanctuary, one of them said, Cause thy Soldiers to desist, and suffer them not to destroy the Temple of the Holy Ghost. The number of these Fanaticks was about four hundred, and assembled in a Room adjoining to their Sanctuary, in which there was a large Pulpit, that they call'd the Pulpit of *Elias*; over against it was a Bay-Tree in a large Vase, with Bottles of Water, Wine

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Wine and Brandy, and near the Vase a Loaf of Bread, full of Sugar-Plumbs and Almonds, a large Picture, representing *Moses* with the Tables of the Law, a Fountain to baptize in, Streamers full of Inscriptions, alluding equally to Love and Religion, and in the middle of the Sanctuary a large Lamp. This Sect began about the first of *January* 1721-2, as appears by an Inscription on one of their Tables, on which are written these Words; *Behold, the Time is come when all Men shall be equal; the Poor shall be as the Rich, and the Rich as the Poor. God has at length manifested his Will by his Spirit. His Will is, that Men should learn to pray of Women.* And in another Inscription, *The Kingdom of God the Father was first; then came that of God the Son; at present 'tis the Reign of the Holy Ghost; and 'tis by Women only that the Spirit can communicate it self to Men.* They met regularly on *Saturday* Nights, and continu'd their Assemblies till *Monday* at break of Day. They administer'd a kind of Communion, and heard a Sermon, after which (if they are not misrepresented) the Lights were put out, and the Preacher cried aloud, *Go Encrease and Multiply*; the Women were in common, every Man match'd himself as he could, and they were married by the Preacher before they left the Assembly; but these Contracts were no longer binding than both Parties pleas'd, some of them, it was said, had chang'd their Husbands several times: But whether these People were not misrepresented in many things by their Prosecutors, who were bigotted *Roman* Catholics, I find is made a Question.

On the tenth of *August* N. S. died *William du Bois*, Cardinal Priest, Archbishop and Duke of *Cambrai*, Prince of the Empire, principal

cial and prime Minister of State, Secretary of State for foreign Affairs, first President of the General Assembly of the Clergy of *France*, &c. and formerly Preceptor to the Duke of *Orleans*, upon whose Death his Royal Highness took upon him the Administration of Affairs of State, and acted as prime Minister.

A Fever
in *French*
Flanders
taken for
the Plague

The Inhabitants of *French Flanders* being visited with a Fever the latter end of this Summer, which carried off great numbers of them, it was immediately given out to be the Plague, that Distemper having lately raged in the Southern parts of *France*, and several People, 'tis said, died at first of the Fright; but the Court sending down Physicians to examine into the Nature of the Disease, they found it no more than a Fever, which tho' it appear'd dangerous, they observ'd might very easily be cur'd, where People did not give way to Fear, nor let Blood after the Symptoms were manifest. The Patients also were advis'd not to provoke or hinder Sweating, or to drink Wine, Brandy, Beer, or any other spirituous Liquors; but they were allow'd small Beer, Barley-Water, or Broth made of Chickens, Veal, or Mutton, after having skimm'd off the Fat. Those that observ'd this Regimen, generally recover'd.

The King
reserves
Pensions
out of the
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ricks.

The King having nominated several Bishops and Abbots to the vacant Benefices in *France* this Year, was pleas'd to reserve considerable Pensions out of them; particularly out of the Archbishoprick of *Cambray*, a Pension of two thousand Livres, payable to the Baron of *Rocheplate*, a Brigadier of the Army, and a Pension of fifteen hundred Livres to the Chevalier de *Herbouville*: which is a way of grati-
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fyng the Creatures of the Court and Army that our Princes have not yet hit upon.

On the second of *December N. S.* died of an Apople&tick-Fit the Regent of *France*, *Philip Duke of Orleans, Valois, Chartres, Nemours and Montpensier.* He was the Son of *Philip Duke of Orleans, Brother of Lewis XIV,* and of *Madam Elizabeth-Charlotte of Bavaria.* D. of Orleans dies, and the D. of Bourbon made prime Minister,

He married *Maria-Francisca*, a base Daughter of *Lewis XIV*, whom that Prince had legitimated; by whom he had Issue the Duke of *Chartres*, now Duke of *Orleans*, born the fourth of *August 1703*, and four Daughters. The Duke of *Bourbon* coming to Court the very Moment the late Duke of *Orleans* expir'd, obtain'd the Office of prime Minister of his Majesty, and his Letters Patents were sign'd the Day following, and register'd in Parliament on the fourth of *December*: Soon after which, the Duke of *Villeroy*, the King's Governor, who had been dismiss'd by the late Duke of *Orleans*, was sent for to Court.

In *January* following, *Anno 1723-4*, his Catholick Majesty, *Philip V*, made an absolute Renunciation of the Crown of *Spain*, in Favour of *Don Lewis*, Prince of the *Asturias*, having determin'd to retire with the Queen his Consort to the Palace of *St. Ildefonso*, there to devote the Remainder of his Days to the Service of God and the Care of his Soul. He wrote at the same time to the most *Christian King* and the Duke of *Bourbon*, to acquaint them with his Resolution, and assure them of a Continuance of his Friendship, and of the Prince of *Asturias*, whom he had appointed to succeed him. Philip K. of Spain resigns his Crown to his Son.

The Congress of
Cambray
open'd.

The Investiture
of *Tuscany*
and *Parma*
granted to
Don Carlos.

The Value of the
Coin re-
duced.

The so much talk'd of Congress of *Cambray*, where most of the Princes of *Europe* had their Plenipotentiaries, in order to explain or supply what was thought defective in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, was open'd on the 26th of *January* N. S. 1723, the Imperial Ministers having two Days before deliver'd to the Ministers of *Spain*, pursuant to the Quadruple Alliance, the original Act of Investiture for the Dutchies of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, in Favour of *Don Carlos*, Son to the present Queen of *Spain*.

The People of *France* were very little better'd by the Change of the Ministry, which happen'd on the Death of the late Duke of *Orleans*. The Duke of *Bourbon* found himself under a necessity of lowering the Coin, in order to revive their foreign Trade: To this End an Arret was publish'd on the 4th of *January* for reducing the *Lewis d'Or*, which was then current at 27 Livres, to 24, and the other Species of Gold and Silver proportionably. By this means the Butchers, Bakers, and other Retailers of Provision, who had any Quantity of Specie by them, became very great Sufferers; and expecting another Reduction, they refus'd to part with their Goods but at extravagant Prices. The Magistrates of *Paris* hereupon sent for the Heads of the several Trading Companies, and commanded them to sell their Goods at a moderate rate; but were answer'd, that they cou'd not, because a second Reduction of the Coin was daily expected, by which they should probably lose as much as they had done by the first. The Government thereupon licens'd other Tradesmen who were not free of the City, to sell Flesh and other Necessaries at more moderate rates,

rates, whereby they brought down the Price of Flesh from fifteen Pence to seven Pence a Pound, and other things in Proportion. But this exasperated the Trading Companies in *Paris*, especially when they found their Fears were but too just, for in *April 1724*, the Government again reduc'd the *Lewis d'Or* from twenty-four to twenty Livres, and other Species in Proportion. This Uncertainty in the Value of the Coin occasion'd a perfect Stagnation of Trade, no Body caring to part with their Goods till the Value of Money was fix'd, and abundance of People were reduc'd to a starving Condition; Murders and Robberies were frequent in the Streets of *Paris*, nor cou'd any thing have prevented a general Insurrection, but the drawing of great Bodies of regular Forces together to keep the People in awe. The Clergy at the same time were engag'd in a kind of Civil War about the *Constitution Unigenitus*, and seem'd to agree in nothing but the Persecution of their Protestant Bretheren, which was carried on with the utmost Fury in all parts of the Kingdom. The young King was prevail'd on to publish Edict after Edict, to cause the penal Laws to be executed upon that unhappy People; in the Preamble to one of which he is made to say, *That of all the great Designs which his Great-grandfather Lewis XIV form'd during the course of his Reign, there was none he had more at Heart to pursue and see executed, than that of extinguishing Heresy out of his Kingdom.*

1724.

The Clergy at Variance about the *Constitution*

The Protestants persecuted.

Paris, like *London*, encreasing every Day in its Extent, by the numerous Buildings added to it, the Government thought fit this Year to publish a Declaration for fixing the Limits of it. The Court seem'd determin'd also to

compel the Bishops and Clergy of *France* to accept the *Constitution Unigenitus*, for an Arret was publish'd against the Bishop of *Montpellier*, the famous Anticonstitutioner, confiscating his Temporalties, and declaring his Benifices vacant. With such rage did the Clergy prosecute each other for they knew not what, the Controversy being chiefly about Grace and Free Will, which perhaps will never be settled as long as the World stands.

Lewis K.
of Spain
dies.

Lewis, the young King of *Spain*, died on the 31st of *August* of the small Pox, after a Reign of seven Months and some odd Days, whereupon his Father *Philip V* was prevail'd on by his Subjects to resume the Government, and it was agreed that the young Queen Dowager, Daughter of the late Duke of *Orleans*, shou'd return to *France* and enjoy her Dowry there, (which amounted to 500,000 Livres) in Pursuance of the Marriage Articles.

The French
K. sends
back the
Infanta.

The *French* Court considering that his most *Christian* Majesty cou'd not possibly have any Issue by the Infanta of *Spain* in many Years, determin'd to send that Princess home, and marry his Majesty to one of riper Years. Accordingly, on the 22d of *March* 1724-5, the King of *Spain* receiv'd a Letter from the King of *France*, wherein his most *Christian* Majesty express'd the great Concern he was under upon his Separation from the Infanta; but said, that a King being born for his Subjects rather than himself, he could not excuse himself from yielding to the strong Solicitations of all his States to marry forthwith, that he might have Issue, and thereby prevent the Troubles and Revolutions which might happen in the Kingdom if he should die before the

Infanta

Infanta (who was but seven Years of Age) was marriageable.

The King and Queen of Spain were not a little piqu'd at this Conduct of the French, and having receiv'd Advice that the Infanta set out from *Versailles* to return to *Madrid* on the fifth of *April*, they sent back *Mademoiselle de Beaujolois*, Daughter of the late Duke of *Orleans*, who had been contracted to *Don Carlos*, with her Sister the Dowager-Queen of *Spain*, and these Princesses were exchange'd on the Frontiers of *France* and *Spain* about the middle of *May* following on the Infanta's Arrival there, whereupon his most Christian Majesty declar'd, that he had determin'd to marry the Princess *Mary Leczinski*, Daughter of King *Stanislaus*, and the Marriage was celebrated first by Proxy at *Strasburgh*, and afterwards in Person by their Majesties on the fifth of *September* 1725; the Consequence of which was an Alliance between *Spain* and the Emperor, afterwards call'd the *Vienna*-Alliance; for the *Spaniards* were so provok'd by sending back the Infanta, that they refus'd the Emperor nothing he demanded; there was now no further need of a Congress at *Cambray* to decide their Differences: And had the *British* Ministers laid hold of the same favourable Juncture, probably they might have obtain'd what Terms they pleas'd of *Spain*.

And marries the Daughter of King *Stanislaus*.

By the *Vienna* Treaty, after confirming the Quadruple Alliance, and the reciprocal Renunciations of the Parties to the *Spanish* Territories in their respective Possessions, the Emperor granted the Investiture of the Dutchies of *Tuscany* and *Parma* in Favour of *Don Carlos*, the Queen of *Spain*'s Son: Then they guaranteed their several Dominions, engag'd reciprocally

The *Vienna* Alliance.

cally to favour the Commerce of each others Subjects, and particularly his Imperial Majesty's Subjects were permitted to import Merchandizes from the *East-Indies* to *Spain*, and all other Powers were to be admitted into this Alliance who desir'd it within the Term of a Year. Besides which, 'twas given out there were some secret Articles to the Prejudice of *France*, *Britain*, and the States General; at least *Britain* was so apprehensive of something of this Nature, that she lost all the glorious Advantages she might otherwise have obtain'd at this time, by cultivating a good Correspondence with *Spain*, and enter'd into an Alliance with *France*, a Nation whose Friendship has ever been fatal to her. The King of *Prussia* and the States General also became Parties to the Treaty, but by their future Conduct, 'tis evident they never intended to concur with *France* and *Britain* in all the Measures they had concerted. This obtain'd the Name of *the Hannover Alliance*, having been concluded there on the third of *September* 1725.

The
Hannover
Alliance.

By this Alliance the contracting Parties guaranty to each other their respective Dominions and Territories, Rights and Privileges, especially those in relation to *Trade*: And it was agreed, that if any of the Parties should be attack'd or molested in any of the above-said Particulars, that then the other Powers, within two Months after Demand, should furnish the following Succours, viz. *Britain* 3000 Foot and 4000 Horse, *France* 8000 Foot and 4000 Horse, *Prussia* 3000 Foot and 2000 Horse, or an Equivalent in Shipping or Money; one thousand Foot to be valued at 10000 *Dutch Florins* per Month, and a thousand Horse

at 30000 Florins *per* Month; and in case of Necessity the said Allies should assist each other with all their Forces, and declare War against the Aggressor.

They engage also to enter into no Alliance with any other Power, but in Concert with the Parties hereto, and to communicate all Proposals which shall be made to any of them on that Head.

By a separate Article, their *British* and *Prussian* Majesties, as Members of the Empire, agree not to furnish their Contingent of Troops in case of a War with the Empire.

In the mean time the Court of *France* continued every Year to encrease their Taxes, tho' the Nation was in full Peace, and amongst the rest a Tax of two *per Cent.* was laid upon all real and personal Estates, and even upon those who had Money in the Funds, which extended to the Clergy and Nobility; in the Preamble to the Declaration for levying of which Tax it is recited, that the King with-
in the Compass of seven Years, *viz.* from 1716 to 1723, by raising the Value of the Coin, and new stamping it, had gain'd upwards of three hundred and fifty-three millions of Livres; and in the Years 1719 and 1720, by the Royal Bank Notes which had been issued by the Government, (and never paid) above three millions of millions; and that notwithstanding these prodigious Profits, the Crown was still so far in Debt, that it paid fifty-one millions of Livres annually for Interest Money, tho' that Interest was but two *per Cent.*

The Debts of *France*, and the Methods of paying them.

There were several other Edicts and Declarations read on his Majesty's coming to the Parliament the eighth of *June*, which being very long, the first President desir'd they might deliberate

The Parliament forc'd to record the King's Edicts.

deliberate upon them before they pass'd that Assembly ; but the King, as has been usual in the late tyranical Administrations, requir'd them to be register'd immediately without any Debate, which was done accordingly, the Members being sensible it wou'd be to no purpose longer to oppose it : But thus much must be said to the Honour of those Gentlemen, that tho' it has not for many Years been in their Power to resist the Force put upon them, they have so far maintain'd their Character as to deliver their Opinions against most of the destructive Schemes that have been introduc'd since the Loss of their Liberties : And notwithstanding that vast Body of Troops which the *French* maintain in constant Pay to keep things quiet, such has been the Oppression of the People, that there have been frequent Tumults and Insurrections of late Years in this Kingdom, particularly in *Paris* and *Rouen*, which are never without numerous Garrisons, or Bodies of Forces in their Neighbourhood ; there was two Insurrections this very Year on account of the extravagant rate of Provisions, occasion'd by the frequent Alterations in the Value of the Coin, &c. Bread was generally sold at eight and ten Pence the Pound, and other Provisions proportionably at this time.

The Parl. of *Britany* represent the Distresses the Nation is under occasion'd by the Taxes, &c. The general Assembly of the Clergy, and most of the Parliaments of *France*, made their Representations to the Throne against the various Taxes and Oppressions which were the Occasion of this general Distress, but none with more Freedom than the Parliament of *Britany* : They tell his Majesty, that under the Calamities of the two last long Wars, they had liberally and cheerfully made a Sacrifice of

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of their Lives and Fortunes, in hopes that at the end of the Wars they shou'd likewise see an end of their Miseries; but tho' the Peace they had so must long'd for came at last, and they had enjoy'd it now twelve Years, *Bitter was the Fruit they gather'd from it.* Many of the best Families were ruin'd by Paper-Money, a new Project introduc'd in Opposition to the Remonstrances of all his Parliaments, and the Nation groan'd under the ill Effects of it at that Day. That the Capitation-Tax was still levy'd, tho' it was introduc'd only as an extraordinary Resource in time of War, and was to cease as soon as the Peace was made.

The tenth Penny was only taken off in part, and instead of it four Pence was laid on every Livre, which was a fifth part of their Revenues.

That the frequent Alteration of the Coin had destroy'd all Confidence, and the last Diminution of its Value alone had lessen'd the Subjects Cash almost one half.

The Dearth and Scarcity of the last three Years had reduc'd the People to a miserable Condition, and under these dismal Circumstances, when they expected some Alleviation of their Miseries, a new Tax was impos'd.

That the Strength of the State consisted in Trade and Agriculture, and the Subjects of France were acknowledg'd to be extremely laborious: Where they had a Prospect of small Gain, they wou'd undergo any Hardship or Fatigue without Reluctance; but where no Profit was to be had, nothing to be got by the Sweat of their Brows, they wou'd be discourag'd and dejected. The antient Furrows in the untill'd Grounds, which made up one

half of their Lands, seem'd to reproach the present Generation with Sloth; but it was their great Misfortune, not their Fault. They groan'd under the Burthen of so many Duties and Taxes, that they thought it to no purpose to labour or cultivate the Earth, but for the necessary Support of Life; and Trade, which was of no less Importance, especially in that Province, was perfectly at a stand, for want of Credit and Money to support it. For these and many other Motives equally persuasive, they desire his Majesty to look on them with an Eye of Compassion, &c.

The
Court
force the
Accepta-
tion of
the Bull
Unigenitus

The forcing the Acceptation of the Bull *Unigenitus*, occasion'd also great Disturbances among the Clergy and Religious Orders, several of whom were imprison'd, banish'd, and their Goods confiscated for opposing it. Even the Abbess *de Chelles*, Daughter to the late Duke of *Orleans*, was censur'd for protesting against it; but she persever'd in her Opinion, and let her Persecutors know, that she should think herself happy to suffer with so vast a number of innocent People as had been ruin'd for pursuing the Dictates of their Consciences. But the Storm seems to have fallen hardest upon the *Carthusian* Friars, who were many of them oblig'd to become Refugees in *Holland* this Year for refusing to accept the *Constitution*.

1726.

It was expected that this Year wou'd have produc'd a War between the Allies of HANNOVER and those of VIENNA: *France*, and most of the Powers of *Europe*, augmented their Forces, and seem'd prepar'd to take the Field; but no hostile Attempt was made till the Siege of *Gibraltar* was form'd in the Month of *February* 1726-7, unless his *British* Majesty's
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sending a Squadron of Men of War this Summer to lie upon the Coasts of *Spain*, and another to block up the Galleons at *Porto Bello*, may be reckon'd such, as the *Spaniards* insisted.

In the mean time his most *Christian* Majesty thought fit to suppress the Office of Prime Minister, and take the Reins of Government into his own Hands; whereupon the Duke of *Bourbon* was dismiss'd, and the King made

The French K. takes the Government into his Hands.

choice of the old Bishop of *Frejus* to assist him in the Administration of Affairs. The Advancement of this Prelate in the *French* Court soon after procur'd him a Cardinal's Cap, and he has been since known by the Title of Cardinal *de Fleury*. 'Tis said that the most *Christian* King, in order to shew how acceptable this Promotion was to him, publish'd the Declaration in Favour of the *Constitution Unigenitus*, whereby he requires it to be accepted throughout the Kingdom, and observ'd as a Law equally binding both to Church and State.

Cardinal Fleury first Minister.

A Fire broke out in the Forest of *Fontainebleau* in the Month of *September* this Year, by some unknown Accident, which continu'd burning twelve Days together, and consum'd an hundred and twenty Acres of Wood, and three hundred Acres of Broom, and was stopp'd with Difficulty at last by the *French* and *Swiss* Guards and Country-People, who dug a Trench of three Leagues in length to prevent the spreading of it.

The Forest of Fontainebleau takes Fire.

The most remarkable Occurrence which happen'd in *Europe* in the Year 1727, was the Siege of *Gibraltar* by the *Spaniards*, when the King of *Great Britain* seem'd to expect, that by virtue of the *Hannover* Treaty, his most *Chris-*

1727. Siege of Gibraltar.

The *French* Majesty shou'd have attack'd *Spain* on the
 give no side of *Catalonia*, and oblig'd them to have
 Assistance withdrawn their Forces from before that place.
 to the But notwithstanding this boasted Alliance with
English in the *French*, they suffer'd his *British* Majesty to
 this War. bear the whole Charges of the War alone by

Sea and Land : And tho' its true, the *English*
 Fleet suffer'd very little from that of the *Spaniards* while it lay before *Porto Bello*, yet the
 Ships were most of them rotted or eaten up
 by the Worm, and their whole Crews, both
 Officers and Soldiers, perish'd by Sicknels ;
 according to some Advices, several Ships were
 remann'd more than once : and why the *French*
 and *Dutch* shou'd not have had their Share in
 this destructive Expedition as well as *Britain*,
 I believe Posterity will scarce be able to dis-
 cover. As to the *French* indeed, 'tis said they
 had engag'd that *Gibraltar* should be deliver'd
 up to the *Spaniard*, and obtain'd a Promise
 from his *British* Majesty to that End. They
 were also concern'd in point of Interest that it
 shou'd remain in the Hands of the *Spaniards*,
 who were in no Condition to obstruct their
 Passage through the Streights, as the *English*
 might in case of a Rupture between the two
 Nations. But admitting these Particulars to
 be true, why did *Britain* then enter into such a
 forc'd and unnatural Alliance with *France* ?
 Cou'd they ever expect to see that Court so
 complaisant as to act contrary to their Interests
 and the Engagements they had already enter'd
 into with *Spain* ? If they did, 'tis evident they
 were deceiv'd ; for notwithstanding the fre-
 quent Advices we receiv'd from time to time
 that the *French* were assembling an Army to
 attack *Spain*, we do not find any one Motion
 of their Troops that tended that way ; they

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chose rather to act the part of Mediators, and in Effect became Umpires of the Differences between *Britain*, *Spain* and the Emperor. We receiv'd at length Preliminary Articles of Peace from *France*, such as the Ministry there were pleas'd to prescribe.

These Articles were dated at *Paris* the last of *May* 1727, the most material whereof were, that the Emperor should suspend the Commerce between *Ostend* and the *East-Indies* for seven Years. That the Privileges of Commerce of the *English*, *French* and *Dutch*, shou'd be restor'd them. That immediately after signing the Articles all Hostilities shou'd cease, and with respect to *Spain*, within eight Days after his Catholick Majesty shou'd receive them. That within four Months a Congress shou'd be form'd at *Aix la Chapelle*, where the Rights and Pretensions of the several Powers shou'd be examin'd and discuss'd.

Soon after the signing of these Articles, viz. K. George in the Night of the tenth of *June* 1727, George King of *Great Britain* died, and was succeeded by his Son *George* the Second : But this Event occasion'd no Alteration, either in the Ministry or Measures concerted in that Kingdom. Some few Days after the Siege of *Gibraltar* was rais'd, in Pursuance of the Preliminary Articles above-mention'd, and *Europe* once more restor'd to a State of Peace.

Te Deum was sung at the Cathedral of *Notredame* in *Paris* on the 17th of *August* for the Birth of two Princesses, of which the Queen was deliver'd on the 14th instant ; but the Joy had been much greater at Court had a Dauphin been born ; and indeed, their Hearts were so set upon a Son, that they cou'd not conceal their Chagrin at the Disappointment.

Preliminary Articles of Peace between the Emperor, Spain, France, Britain, &c.

The Q. deliver'd of two Princesses

pointment. The King in his Letter to the Archbishop of *Paris* on this Occasion, desires his Prayers that he may be bless'd with a Dauphin the next time the Queen lies in.

The Validity of Orders in the Church of England asserted.

A Book having been publish'd by Father *le Courayer* to shew the Validity of Ordinations in the Church of *England*, was about this time censur'd by the Cardinal *de Noailles*, Archbishop of *Paris*, as containing a Doctrine false, erroneous, scandalous, injurious to the Church and Holy See, and favouring Heresy, Schism, &c. The most *Christian* King also issu'd an Arret, dated the 7th of *September* 1727, requiring the said Books to be suppressed, and that all Persons who had them should bring them to the Register's Office of the Lieutenant-General of the Police, under severe Penalties.

1728.

A Congress having been agreed upon to be held at *Cambray*, in order to treat of a general Peace among the Princes of *Europe*, the Cardinal *de Fleury*, who was now become Umpire of their Differences, prevail'd with them that it might be held at *Soissons*. The Cardinal, it seems, did not care to trust these Negotiations to the Conduct of any but himself, and at the same time was equally afraid to leave his most *Christian* Majesty in the Hands of other Ministers. The opening of the Congress had been delay'd almost a Year on account of some Difficulties which had arisen between *Britain* and *Spain*, concerning the true Sense of the Preliminary Articles; but at length an Act was sign'd at the Court of *Spain*, dated the 6th of *March* 1727-8, for the due Execution of them by the Ministers of the said Powers; the Substance whereof was, That his *British* Majesty should forthwith send Orders to his Admirals

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Admirals *Wager* and *Hofier*, or those who commanded in their stead, to withdraw from the Seas of *Spain* and the *West-Indies*. That the Counterbands, and other Complaints of that kind made by the *Spaniards* in relation to the *Prince Frederick*, shou'd be decided in the ensuing Congress; as also whether the Prizes taken by both Parties at Sea shou'd be restor'd. His Catholick Majesty on the other hand, promis'd to raise the Blockade of *Gibraltar*, and level the Works before it: To send Orders for delivering up the Ship *Prince Frederick* and its Cargo to the *English South-Sea-Company*, and to restore the Commerce of the *English* according to the *Assiento-Treaty*. To cause the Effects of the Flotilla to be distributed, and those of the Galleons when return'd. And lastly, that his Catholick Majesty, as well as his *British* Majesty, wou'd abide by the Decisions of the future Congress.

Disputes
about the
Prelimi-
nary
Articles
agreed.

The much expected Congress was at length open'd at *Soissons* on the 14th of *June* 1728, when the several Ministers produc'd their full Powers from their respective Masters, viz. those of the Emperor, *Britain*, *France*, *Spain* and the States General. His most Christian Majesty, that he might not be too far remov'd from his prime Minister Cardinal *Fleury* during these Negotiations, came with his Court from *Versailles* to *Compeign*, which is not more than thirteen or fourteen Miles from *Soissons*, from whence the Cardinal might easily come to Court when he pleas'd in two Hours time: But it soon appearing that this Congress was like to have no better Success than one of the same kind held not many Years since at *Cambray*, the *French* Court return'd to *Versailles* on the

Congress
of *Soissons*
open'd.

the first of *July*, where Cardinal *Fleury* also arriv'd about the same time, and was follow'd thither by most of the Ministers-Plenipotentiaries.

While the King remain'd at *Compeigne*, as he was hunting in the Forest there, his Horse started on a Bridge, whereupon his Majesty threw himself off, and receiv'd no manner of Hurt, and, according to the *French* Writers, he did not betray the least Emotion or Concern on the Occasion. Those about him were no less charm'd with the Courage and Presence of Mind he had shewn, than they had been surpriz'd and terrify'd just before at the Accident; though it is not to be doubted if he had behav'd himself never so meanly, his Courtiers wou'd have given it a favourable turn. Little Truth is to be expected where a Slave or Dependant relates the Actions of his Prince or Patron, who has his Fortunes in his Power.

The Q.
deliver'd
of another
Daughter

On the 28th of *July* the Queen was deliver'd of another Princess, to the great Mortification of the Court of *France*, who had put up their Prayers for a Dauphin ever since the last Lying-in. The Hail-Storms and unreasonable Weather which destroy'd the Corn and other Fruits of the Earth in several parts of the Kingdom this Year, was another very great Misfortune, and oblig'd his Majesty to make considerable Abatements in the *Taille*, or Land-Tax, which the Natives were in no Condition to pay.

The A.B.
of *Paris* ac-
cepts the
Constituti-
on abso-
lutely.

The Court of *France* appearing determin'd to compel the Acceptation of the Bull *Unigenitus*, the Cardinal *de Noailles*, Archbishop of *Paris*, who had long oppos'd it, and could never be brought to accept it hitherto, but upon certain

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certain Conditions, thought fit at this time to accept it *absolutely*; and to declare further, that he would prosecute all those who should presume to speak, teach, preach or write against the said Constitution, or dissuade the Clergy from the Obedience they owed to it.

As the Queen of *France* had been twice disappointed in her Expectations of a Dauphin, she determin'd to offer up her Devotions in the Metropolitan Church of *Paris*, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, for better Success in her next *Accouchement*: Accordingly on the ninth of *October* she came to that Cathedral, and being met by the Cardinal *de Noailles*, Archbishop of *Paris*, in his Pontifical Habit, at the Head of his Canons at the Church-Door, that Prelate made the following Speech to her on the Occasion, which is thus render'd into *English*:

The Q.
offers up
her Prayers
for a
Dauphin.

' On this Memorable and Solemn Day, when your Majesty gives so Signal a Testimony of your Piety and Devotion, the Ministers of the Lord are bound in Justice to give to this innumerable Multitude which surrounds your Majesty on all sides, an Example of the Joy, Affection, Respect and Veneration your sacred Presence inspires us with; what Satisfaction for me that I can still be the Interpreter of their Sentiments, and Eye-Witness of the Homage which your Majesty is going to pay to the Almighty in this Holy Temple.

' Come, Madam, to the Foot of his Altar, and even into his Sanctuary, and implore the Intercession of that Holy Virgin whose Succour and Protection always prov'd favourable to our Kings. Beg of her without Hesitation, that precious Gift which is

‘ the Object of our most ardent Vows, on
 ‘ which depends the Happiness of the King,
 ‘ the Comfort of your Majesty, the Tranqui-
 ‘ lity of *France*, and the Quiet of all *Europe*.

‘ All Things may be obtained by Faith;
 ‘ and this Day we may say with Confidence to
 ‘ your Majesty, what formerly was said to
 ‘ that Holy Woman who was so earnestly
 ‘ praying to God for a Son, Depart in Peace,
 ‘ and may the God of *Israel* grant the just De-
 ‘ sire your Heart has conceived.

The King was taken ill of the Small Pox
 the twenty-fifth of the same Month, but had
 them so favourably, that it was attended with
 no ill Consequences: His Majesty was in a
 Condition to go abroad again the beginning of
November.

Leave having been obtain’d of the Grand
 Seignior, to transcribe the Manuscripts in his
 Library at *Constantinople*, whether Greek, Latin,
 Arabian, Turkish or Persian; his Majesty sent
 the Abbots *Sevin* and *Tourmont*, of the Acade-
 my of Inscriptions, to *Turkey*, to copy such of
 them as they apprehended to be of the most
 Importance.

A severe
 Winter in
France.

The Winter was very severe in *France* this
 Year, which with the Scarcity of Provisions,
 reduced the People to great Distress, especi-
 ally in and about *Paris*; but they were in
 some measure relieved by the Generosity of
 the King and the Nobility, who distributed
 large Sums among the Poor. In the mean
 time the Snow was frozen so hard, that Sled-
 ges were become the common Diversion of the
 Court, as in more Northern Countries; and
 notwithstanding the Poverty and Distress of
 the Peasants and inferior sort of People, the
 Nobility and Grandees never made a more
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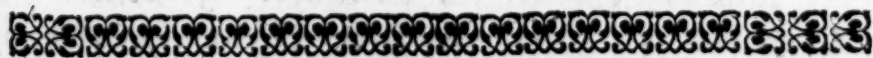
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 tion.

glorious Figure than in these Amusements: They were usually cloathed in black Velvet, set thick with sparkling Diamonds, when they were drawn in their Sledges on the Snow.

Great part of the Year 1729 was taken up in fruitless Conferences at *Soissons, Paris, &c.* to settle the Differences between *Great Britain* and *Spain*; though some are of Opinion that the *French*, who pretended to act the part of Mediators, never sincerely desired to see them accommodated. The *Spaniards* however were at length induced to abandon their Great Con- federate the Emperor, and enter into a sepa- rate Treaty with the Allies of *Hanover*, on their engaging to secure the Reversion of *Tus- cany* and *Parma* to *Don Carlos*, by introducing immediately *Spanish* Troops into those Dut- chies. This was strenuously opposed by the Emperor, as directly contrary to the Quadru- ple Alliance. But what will be the Conse- quence of this Treaty must be the Subject of future History; no Man living can divine at present. I proceed therefore to such other Particulars as may best tend to illustrate the Present State of *France*.

1729.

A Peace con- cluded be- tween Spain and England.



CHAP. XXXIV.

Treats of the Civil Government of France.

THE Legislative, as well as Executive The Civil Power in *France*, is vested solely in the Govern- King: His Edicts are of the Force of Acts of ment. Parliament with us, and he appoints the Judges and Officers who are to put them in Execu- tion. Nothing of Consequence in relation to the

Parlia-
ments.

the State was formerly Decreed or Enacted but by the Consent of the Three Estates, consisting of the Representatives of the Clergy, the Nobility and Third Estate; but these Assemblies are entirely laid aside, and have never been conven'd since the Year 1614. The Courts wherein Justice is now usually administered are, 1. Their Parliaments, which are the last resort where the Court does not interpose; but it appears by the preceding History, that State-Criminals, of what Rank soever, are frequently try'd by Judges or Commissioners nominated on purpose by the Court; and that the Privilege the Peers of *France* antiently claim'd of being try'd only in Parliament, is in a manner abolish'd, for which they are chiefly indebted to the Administrations of the Cardinals *Richelieu* and *Mazarin*. The King has also his Intendants in every Government of the Kingdom, who are vested with an almost unlimited Authority, though the original Design of appointing these Officers seems to have been to superintend the King's Revenues and Treasure only. But to return to the Courts of Parliament, they are Fifteen in number, viz. 1. That of *Paris*. 2. *Toulouse*. 3. *Rouen*. 4. *Grenoble*. 5. *Bordeaux*. 6. *Dijon*. 7. *Aix*. 8. *Rennes* or *Vannes*. 9. *Pau*. 10. *Besancon*. 11. *Mets*. 12. *Dowa*. 13. *Perpignan* or *Roussillon*. 14. *Arras*. And, 15. That of *Alsace*, held at *Colmar* or *Strasburgh*. These Parliaments consist of a certain number of Presidents and Inferior Judges, who purchase their Places either of the Crown, or of those who are in Possession of them; for all Magistrates and Officers of Justice in *France* purchase their Places openly, and the Government make a considerable Revenue by these Sales. They enjoy their

their Posts for Life, unless they have been guilty of some notorious Crime in the Exercise of their Offices. The Parliament of *Paris* is much the most considerable of the Kingdom, for hither the King frequently comes in Person, and here his Royal Edicts are recorded and promulg'd, till when they have not the Force of Laws. But from many repeated Instances of late, we learn that he will not suffer the Parliament to deliberate and debate on the Subject of his Edicts, as they were us'd to do before they register'd them, but obliges them to do it without entring into the Merits of the Case. This Parliament also is held in the highest Esteem, as it is compos'd of the Princes of the Blood, Dukes and Peers of *France*, besides the ordinary Judges, and takes Cognizance of all Offences committed by Peers, where the Court does not interpose, and issue a special Commission for that end.

The Parliament of *Paris* had antiently under its Jurisdiction, the Dutchies *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Guienne* and *Britany*, and the Counties of *Flanders* and *Toulouse*, whereupon it is evident, that the Parliaments of *Dijon*, *Rouen*, *Bordeaux*, *Rennes*, *Flanders* and *Toulouse*, have been dismember'd from that of *Paris*. At present its Jurisdiction extends over the *Isle of France*, *la Beauce*, *Sologne*, *Berry*, *Auvergne*, *Lyonois*, *le Forets* and *Beaujolois*, *Nivernois*, *Bourbonois*, *Anjou*, *Angoumois*, *Picardy*, *Champaign*, *la Brie*, *Maine*, *Perche*, *Tourain*, *Poitou*, *Aunis* and *Rochelois*.

The Princes of the Blood have a Seat and Voice in this Parliament at the Age of fifteen, and the Peers of *France* at twenty-five, with this Difference, that the Princes of the Blood enter as of Right, but the Peers cannot sit there till

The Parl.
of *Paris*.

till they have taken an Oath of Fidelity, and sworn to do Justice to poor and Rich, to observe the Rules of the Court, and keep their Deliberations secret. Affairs which concern the Persons of Peers, their Estates and Rights of Peerage, ought to be determin'd in the Grand Chamber of the Parliament of *Paris* in the first Instance, for which Reason it is call'd the Parliament of the Peers: And they take Cognizance in the Grand Chamber also of the Regalia, and such things as concern the Crown and the King's Demesns, exclusively of the rest of the Parliaments of *France*.

This Parliament consists of Ten Chief Presidents, some Honorary Counsellors or Judges, Four Masters of Requests of the Household, of One and Twenty Presidents *a Mortier*, so called from the Fashion of their Caps, and of Two Hundred and Thirty-two other Counsellors or Judges, an Attorney-General, Advocates, Solicitors-General, Registers, Notaries, Secretaries, &c. These Members are distributed into, 1. The Grand Chamber. 2. Five Chambers of Enquests. And, 3. Two of Requests. The Grand Chamber is composed of Ten Presidents, the Honorary Counsellors, the Four Ministers of Requests of the King's House, and of Thirty-three Counsellors or Judges, *viz.* Twenty-one Lay Judges and Twelve Ecclesiasticks. Every one of the Chambers of Enquest hath Thirty-two Counsellors or Judges. In the first Chamber of Requests there are Fourteen, and in the second Fifteen. Besides these Eight Chambers, there is another call'd the *Tournelle*, which takes Cognizance of Criminal Matters where the Nobility are not concern'd, for these are try'd as has been observ'd already in the Grand Chamber,

Chamber, it consists of Five Presidents, Ten Counsellors of the Grand Chamber, who serve six Months by turns, and of Two Counsellors from each of the Chambers of Enquests, who serve also three Months by turns ; from whence 'tis said to have obtain'd the Name of *Tournelle*. In the Chambers of Enquest Depositions of Witnesses are taken, and the Proceedings are by way of Bill and Answer, as in the Court of Chancery in *England* ; and the Chambers of Request take Cognizance of Causes relating to Privileg'd Persons.

On Days of Ceremony the Presidents of the Parliament wear a Scarlet Robe with a Mantle lin'd with Ermins, and a Black Velvet Cap border'd with Gold Lace, in the Fashion of a Mortor, that of the Chief President's being distinguish'd by a double Gold Lace : The Honorary Counsellors, the Masters of Requests, the Presidents of Inquests and Requests, the Attorney and Solicitors General, have Scarlet Robes and Caps border'd with Ermins ; The Chief Register for Civil Causes has a Scarlet Robe and Mantle lin'd with Ermins ; The Chief Register for Criminal Causes, the Four Notaries and Clerks or Secretaries of Parliament, have also Scarlet Robes and Caps lin'd with Ermins ; the Advocates have Black Gowns and Caps, and all the rest of the Officers Black Gowns.

The rest of the Parliaments of the Kingdom have their respective Districts, and are divided into Chambers or Houses, among which the several Branches of Business are distributed, as in that of *Paris* ; only they are excluded from taking Cognizance of any Causes which relate to the Crown or the Peers of the Realm. The King's Edicts also are Registered

sted in these Parliaments before they have the Force of Laws in their respective Districts.

The
Cham-
bers of
Accounts

Besides the Parliaments of *France*, there are several other supreme Courts for particular Branches of Business, as the Chambers of Accounts, establish'd in several parts of the Kingdom, and the Courts of Aids. The Chambers of Accounts are held at *Paris, Rouen, Dijon, Nants, Montpellier, Grenoble, Aix, Pau, Blois, Lisle, Aire* and *Dole*. This Court administers the Oath of Fealty to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, &c. examines the Accounts of the Treasury; receives the Homage of the Vassals of the Crown; records Treaties of Peace, and other Contracts and Grants of the Crown. The Courts of Aids are establish'd at *Paris, Montpellier, Rouen, Clermont, Montferraud, Bourdeaux, Aix, Grenoble* and *Dijon*. These Courts are the last Resort in all Causes relating to the Taxes and Revenues of the Crown.

The
Courts
of Aids.

The
Court of
Money.

There is also a Court call'd the Court of Money, which is the last Resort in all Causes concerning the Coin, Metals, Mines, Weights, and the Officers and Artificers employ'd in the Mints.

The
Court of
the Wa-
ters and
Forests.

Another supreme Court is that of the Waters and Forests, which takes Cognizance of all Offences committed in the King's Forests, Woods and Waters; and also of all Controversies between private Persons relating to their Woods, Warrens, Rivers, Islands, Mills, Fisheries, Chases, &c.

To form a just Notion of their inferior Courts of Justice, it will be necessary to observe how Justice was administer'd antiently. The *Franks* as well as the *Romans*, we find, establish'd Counts or Earls in all the Cities and

and great Towns of the Kingdom, who were the Governors and Judges in those places and the Territories belonging to them: These constituted Viscounts, who administer'd Justice in their Absence. In lesser Towns and Districts there were inferior Magistrates call'd Viccars, and under them still lesser Officers, call'd *Centeniers*, *Centenarii*, as their Jurisdiction extended over no more than an hundred Families. These were all at first but temporary Magistrates: The Count was appointed by the King, and he nominated the Viscounts, Viccars and *Centeniers* under him. The Courts of Justice of these Counts were call'd *Malls*, and the Assessors and Judges he call'd to his Assistance, *Rachimburges*, of whom he usually had seven. The Duke was esteem'd an Officer superior to the Count, but had much the same Jurisdiction. The King also held a Court in his Palace from time to time to determine Matters of the greatest Importance, calling the Dukes, Earls, Bishops, Abbots, and other great Lords to his Assistance.

Under the first Race of Kings, great Estates were given to the Church, whereupon the Prelates, who were possess'd of large Fees, committed the Administration of Justice in their Territories to Officers call'd *Vidames*.

Under the second Family of their Kings, the Counts, Viccounts, *Vidames*, Viccars and *Centeniers*, continu'd to administer Justice in the Provinces; but the King from time to time deputed Commissaries to hear the Complaints of the People, and reverse unjust Sentences: These were generally Bishops, Abbots or Counts. The Commissaries appointed Eschevins or Aldermen in Towns, chosen by

the Assent and Approbation of the People, in the room of the Rachimbures, who had been Assessors to the Counts during the first Race. These were ordinarily seven, and sometimes twelve; and when there was a Vacancy it was supplied out of the principal Inhabitants.

Towards the end of the second Race, the Dukes, Earls and Viscounts assum'd the Dominion of those Territories, which they held before but as Governors or Deputies of the Prince. That Usurpation was confirm'd to them in the beginning of the third Race, and the King had only the Counties of *Paris* and *Orleans* left him, besides some Demesns in the other Dutchies and Counties. He then administer'd Justice at *Orleans* and *Paris* by his Viscounts, and every Year deputed Officers into the other Provinces to hear the Complaints of his immediate Subjects; and these Deputies were called Bailiffs, because to them was *bail'd* or *given* the Protection or Guardianship of the Subject, though in some Provinces they were call'd *Seneschaux*, or Stewards.

The King however continu'd still to take Cognizance of Affairs of the highest Nature; to which end he conven'd Assemblies of the *Grandeess*, and these were call'd Parliaments, the *Grandeess* that constituted them being stil'd Barons of the Kingdom, and afterwards *Peers of France*; they were either Bishops, Dukes or Earls, great Vassals holding immediately of the Crown: and to these the King added other Members learned in the Laws, who were stil'd *Maitres du Parlement*.

A little before the Reign of *Philip-Augustus*, Provosts were established, who were substitutes to the Bailiffs. The great Lords, who had

had usurp'd the Inheritance of the several Provinces of which they were at first but Governors, imitated the King in the Appointment of their Courts and Officers of Justice; they had their great Councils, Bailiffs, Stewards, &c. in their respective Territories, but instead of the Office of Viccar, that of Castellan was introduc'd, to whom the Administration of Justice was committed in Castles and the Districts belonging to them, afterwards call'd Chatellanies. The Counties of *Champaign* and *Portou* had each of them seven Peers or Barons, who sat with their Earl in his great Council; but generally the rest of the Counties had but four a-piece: and this was the Original of Peers and Barons in the Provinces.

The Bailiffs and Seneschals finding Business encrease upon their Hands, substituted Lieutenants, who were Gentlemen learned in the Law, to assist them. At first their Office continu'd only a Year, as the Bailiffs did, but at length both of them became Hereditary in their Families. These were however always accountable to the High Court of Parliament, which at first follow'd the Court, and was afterwards fix'd at *Paris*; and when the distant Provinces became re-united to the Crown, for the Ease of the Subject several Parliaments were erected in other parts of the Kingdom, to whom the People might appeal from those inferior Courts, as has been intimated already.

The Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, Castellans, or their Substitutes, are still Judges of the inferior Courts in the Country; and in Towns, the Provost and Eschevins, or Mayor and Aldermen, as in our Corporations, to which they have added a Judge of the Police,

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who

who takes Cognizance of some special criminal Cases. But they differ from us in this very material Point, that their Trials are not by Juries in any of their Courts; the Bailiff, Seneschal, &c. with their respective Assessors, are Judges both of the Law and Fact.

The Civil Law generally prevails in *France*, besides which every Province and District has its particular Customs; but the King's Edicts, Ordinances, Declarations and Arrets, (for by all these Names are their Acts of State call'd) repeal and alter any of them at Pleasure, the Legislative Authority being vested solely in the Prince.

General-
ties or
Inten-
dancies.

Besides the Courts and Officers of Justice above-mention'd, *France* is divided into 25 Generalities, every one whereof hath an Intendant, on whom the King seems to rely for the due Administration of Justice, both Civil and Criminal, and the ordering of his Finances or Revenues more than on any other Officers in the Kingdom, and to whom all the rest are in a manner subordinate. They are usually Members of Parliament, and of that Body that are stil'd Masters of Requests.

Prefidial
Courts.

There are also Prefidial Courts establish'd in most great Towns, who have Cognizance of Civil Causes in the first Instance, and receive Appeals from the Bailywicks and inferior Courts, where the Sum in Dispute does not amount to more than 500 Livres, or twenty Livres *per Annum*.

The great
Councils
for State
Affairs.

I come next to enquire into the great Councils by which all Affairs of State are govern'd, which are six in number: 1. The Council of State. 2. The Council of Finances. 3. The Council of Dispatches, or that of the Secretaries of State. 4. The Privy Council.

Council. 5. The Council of Conscience. And,
6. The Council of Commerce.

1. The Council of State, consisting of the King, the Chancellor, and Ministers of State, which forms foreign Alliances, determines Peace and War, and the most important Affairs of the Kingdom, being at present the supreme Council.

2. The Council of Finances, which has the Direction of the Royal Revenues, establish'd in the Year 1661, on suppressing the Office of Superintendant of the Finances.

3. The Council of Dispatches, which transacts Affairs relating to the respective Provinces, as Commissions and Orders to the Governors, Commandants, and other Officers of the Provinces and Towns.

4. The Privy Council, which seems to meet only for form sake at present, the Business being transacted in a Cabinet Council.

5. The Council of Conscience, consisting of the King's Confessor, and some Ecclesiasticks, who apprise the King of the State of Religion, and attend when he nominates to Bishopricks and Abbies.

6. The Council of Commerce, held at the eldest Counsellors of State, and consists of the Secretary for Marine Affairs, the Comptroller General of the Finances, several other Counsellors of State, six Masters of Requests, who have been Intendants of Commerce, and of the Deputies of twelve Trading Towns.

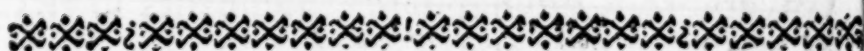
The great Officers of the Crown are, the Chancellor, who presides in all Courts and Councils of State in the King's Absence; the Keeper of the Seals, four Secretaries of State, the Marshals of *France*, the Colonel General of the Horse, the Great Master of the Artillery,

The
Great
Officers
of the
Crown.

ry,

ry, the Admiral of *France*, two Vice-Admirals, the General of the Gallies, the four great Officers of the Order of the Holy Ghost, viz. the Chancellor, the Master of the Ceremonies, the Great Treasurer, and the Secretary; the chief Presidents of the several Parliaments, the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of the Provinces.

The principal Officers of the Household are, the Great Master of the Household, the Great Master of the Horse, the Great Almoner, the Great Chamberlain, the Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, the Great Butler, the Great Huntsman, the four Captains of the *Guard du Corps*, and the chief Porter.



C H A P. XXXV.

Treats of the Finances, or Revenues of the Crown; and of the Forces by Sea and Land.

Of the
Finances,
or Re-
venues
of the
Crown.

ANtiently there was but one Grand Treasurer for the Kingdom of *France*, but at present there are twenty-five, viz. one for every Generalty into which the Kingdom is divided. Of these there are nineteen in the *Pais de Elections*, as they are call'd, that is, in those Provinces where Courts of Election are establish'd, of which there are several in every Generalty; and six in the *Pais d'Etats*, that is, in those Provinces where the States are still permitted to assemble, and seemingly to give their Consent to the Taxes demanded. The *Pais de Elections* are those of *Paris*, *Amiens*, *Soissons*, *Chalons*, *Lyons*, *Montauban*, *Bordeaux*, *Limoges*, *Poitiers*, *Rochelle*, *Tours*, *Caen*, *Alencon*, *Rouen*.

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Rouen, Orleans, Bourges, Moulins, Riom and Auch: and the six within the *Pais d'Etats*, are those of *Britany, Burgundy, Dauphine, Provence, Montpellier and Toulouse*.

Every Generalty is compos'd of several Elections, which comprehend a certain number of Parishes.

In every Generalty there is an Intendant deputed by the King, who takes Cognizance both of Civil and Criminal Causes, as well as of the Finances, and other Matters that concern the publick Good and his Majesty's Interests; only the Generalties of *Montpellier and Toulouse*, which comprehend the Province of *Languedoc*, have but one Intendant; so that there are but twenty-four Intendants in the twenty-five Generalties. There are however six more distributed in *Flanders, Hainault, Alsace, Metz, Franche Comte and Roussillon*, which makes in all thirty Intendances.

Intendants, their Authority.

There are in every Generalty two Receivers General of the Finances, who take it by turns annually to receive the Taxes of the Collectors of the several Parishes, and remit them into the Royal Treasury or Exchequer. The whole number of Parishes contain'd in the said thirty General Intendances, amount to thirty-eight thousand five hundred and two, in which are comprehended one million five hundred eighty-five thousand one hundred and twelve Families, liable to pay the *Taille* or Land-Tax.

30 Intendances, in which are 38,502 Parishes.

The Taxes usually levy'd in *France*, are The several Species of Taxes, the *Taille* or Land-Tax, the *Taillon*, the Subsistence Money, the *Aides* and the *Gabelles*.

As

The man-
ner of le-
vying the
Taille or
Land Tax

As to the manner of levying the **Taille**, after the King has determin'd what **Sum** he will raise, an Order is issued to every **Generalty**, ascertaining what part of it shall be levy'd in each Election. The Intendant, with the two Receivers of the Generalty, hereupon visit every Election, and with the Officers thereof, assign what Proportion every Parish in the Election shall raise, having inform'd themselves of the Alterations that have happen'd in the respective Parishes since the preceding Year. When the Tax is settled, the Intendant sends a Copy of the Assessment to the Royal Treasury, and Duplicates of the Sums assess'd on every Parish to the respective Elections, who transmit to the Collectors of every Parish a Particular of the Sum to be rais'd by them, with an Order to assess the several Inhabitants according to their Consciences, in Proportion to the Lands and Goods they possess. This Assessment or Roll is confirm'd by an Officer of the Election, and the Tax levied accordingly by the Collectors, who transmit it to the Receivers of the Election every Quarter, and these pay it to the Receivers of their Generalty, from whence it is either convey'd to the Royal Treasury or Exchequer, or wherever else the Government appoints.

The Taille, or Land-Tax, is only paid by the third Estate, that is, by Tradesmen, or those that hold by base Tenures, like our Copyholders in *England*, call'd in *France*, *Roturiers*, tho' others affirm that those that hold in Socage also are included, which are the same with our ordinary Freeholders; and this I am inclin'd to believe from the great Numbers there are of them. The *Noblesse* therefore, (that is,

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the Nobility and Gentry who hold by Knights Service) and the Clergy are exempted, unless in *Languedoc*, *Provence* and *Dauphine*, where the Lands and immovable Estates only are chargeable. Here the Roturiers or Copyholders pay nothing for that part of their Estates which they hold by Knights Service; and on the contrary, the Gentry pay the Taille for all such Estates as they hold by base Tenures, for the Taille is a Real and not a Personal Tax there. In all the Generalty of *Montauban*, and in the Elections of *Agen* and *Condom*, which are in the Generalty of *Bordeaux*, as also in the Election of *Lanes*, belonging to the Generalty of *Auch*, the Tax is also Real, that is, paid for the Lands, without any regard to the Quality of the Person who possesses them; But in every other Generalty, the Clergy and the Gentry are exempt from the Tailles, as well as the Officers of the superior Courts; and Courts of Judicature, who are also exempted from Watch and Ward.

The Burgeses of *Paris*, and some other free Cities, are exempted from the Tailles.

The Taillon was establish'd by King Henry II, Anno 1549, for augmenting the Soldiers Pay, and is payable by the same Persons as the Taille, and amounts to about a third of that Tax.

The Subsistence is a Tax which was first levied by Lewis XIV, for the Subsistence of his Armies in their Winter Quarters, and is paid in the same manner as the Taille.

By Aides are understood all Duties and Customs on Goods and Merchandizes except Salt.

Gabelles.

The Gabelles are the Taxes arising from Salt. *Lewis* the Fourteenth rais'd this Duty beyond what it had been in any preceding Reigns, dividing the whole Kingdom into the Great Gabelles, the Little Gabelles, and the Countries exempt from Gabelles. The Country of the Great Gabelles, where Salt is sold at the highest Price, comprehends the Generalities of *Paris, Soissons, Amiens, Chalons, Orleans, Tours, Moulins, Bourges, Dijon, Rouen* and *Caen*. The Country of the Smaller Gabelles, where Salt is sold at a less Price, comprehends *Lyonois, Provence, Dauphine, Languedoc* and *Roussillon*: And the Countries exempt from Gabelles are *Poitou, Limousin, Auvergne, Guienne, Gasconne* and *Bretagne*. In the Bishopricks of *Metz, Toul* and *Verdun*, and *Franche Comte*, the Price of Salt is various. The Farmers of the Gabelles are oblig'd to buy their Salt at the Salt-Pits and Bays at a certain Price, and to carry it to the Store-Houses establish'd by the King, where it is deliver'd out to the People. There is one of these Store-Houses, or *Greniers* of Salt, in almost every great Town, which have their Directors and other Officers belonging to them, who are Judges of all Offences relating to Salt, as the making and selling it without License, and not bringing it to the King's Store-Houses, &c. They take Cognizance also of the Goodness of the Salt, and of the Weights and Measures, and examine if every Family takes such a Quantity of Salt annually as is prescrib'd them by the Government.

Capitation,

The other Taxes are the Capitation, or Poll-Tax, first establish'd in the Year 1695, and taken off at the end of that War, but laid on again in the Year 1701.

The

The Tenth of all the Estates of the Kingdom was levy'd by the Crown in the Year 1710, and affected not only Real Estates, but all Offices, Employments and Commissions, which pay'd proportionably to their annual Revenues and Incomes ; as also all Money in the Funds or private Hands.

Another Tax also has been levy'd of late 50th Years, from which neither the Clergy or Nobility are exempted, call'd the Fiftieth Penny, or the fiftieth part of the Produce of the Earth ; against which Representations have been made by the Clergy and the several Parliaments of the Kingdom, but to very little purpose.

The Tenth and Free Gifts of the Clergy, who are allow'd for the most part to tax themselves, amounts also to a very considerable Sum, they being possess'd of a third part of the Lands of the Kingdom, and it being expected that they should pay at least as great a Proportion of their Revenues towards the Support of the Government, as any other Subjects.

Besides these, there is a great Revenue arising from the Crown-Lands and Woods, Fee-Farms, Forfeitures, Fines, &c. and from the high Duties impos'd on all Provisions brought into *Paris* ; all which, are computed to amount to fifteen millions sterling and upwards annually to the Government ; and it is suppos'd that the King makes as much some Years by raising the Value of the Coin, and other oppressive ways and means, as by compelling the People to take Paper for their Money, and then compounding with them to take half, or perhaps a quarter of their respective Debts, when they come to be paid. And in short, the whole Produce of the Country

try is the King's: He takes from the Subjects what part of their Estates he sees fit, and of late Years has scarce left them a Subsistence for their Families.

Coins.

Their Coins, real and imaginary, are Crowns, Livres, Sols and Deniers. 12 Deniers make a Sol, or Sou; 20 Sols a Livre, or Florin; 3 Livres, or 60 Sols, make a Crown. A *French* Crown is of equal Value with 4 s. 6 d. *English*: An *English* Crown yields in *France* 65 Sols; a Pound sterling yields 13 Livres, and an *English* Guinea 14 Livres. The other Monies of *France* are a Double, which is two Deniers; a Liard, the fourth part of a Sol; Pieces of three and a half, and five Sols; the quarter and the half Crown; the two Livre Piece: And of Gold, the Crown, value 5 Livres 14 Sols; Lys de Or, value 7 Livres ten Sols; the half Louis, the whole Louis d'Or, value 11 Livres; double Louis, &c.

Of the Land-Forces.

The Officers of the Land-Forces in *France*, who have the highest Command in their Armies, are the Marshals, of whom originally there was but one, afterwards there were two; in the Reigns of *Francis I* and *Henry II* there were four, and under the Reigns of *Lewis XIII* and *Lewis XIV* their number was not limited. There were actually in the Year 1715, no less than fifteen Marshals of *France*. They enjoy their Offices during their Lives, and are deem'd Officers of the Crown. They are Judges of Points of Honour, and have Provosts or Lieutenants in the Provinces, who have a Jurisdiction over all Vagrants, Robbers, Incendiaries, Assassins, &c. of which Offences they take Cognizance, and judge in the last Resort.

The

The Lieutenant-Generals command Bodies of Forces under the Marshals, and when they serve in the same Army, every one of them commands his Day by turns, according to their Seniority.

The Marshals *de Camp* are the next Officers to the Lieutenant-Generals. Their Business is to mark out the Encampments, to command the Vanguard, and reconoitre the Country.

The Brigadiers command a Brigade of Cavalry or Infantry: a Brigade of Horse is ten or twelve Squadrons, and a Brigade of Foot five or six Battalions.

The *Mestre de Camp* is an Officer that commands a Regiment of Cavalry, which is compos'd of several Troops, each of which is commanded by a Captain, Lieutenant and Cornet.

A Colonel commands a Regiment of Foot, which consists of several Companies, each of them commanded by a Captain and two Lieutenants.

The Dragoons are deem'd Bodies of Infantry, though they serve sometimes on Horseback and sometimes on Foot, and the Commander of a Regiment is stil'd Colonel.

There was formerly a Colonel-General, who commanded all the Infantry, but that Office was suppress'd on the Death of the Duke of *Epernon* in 1661.

There is still a Colonel-General of the Cavalry, a *Mestre de Camp* General, and a Commissary General, who are superior to the *Maistres de Camp*. The Colonel-General of the *Swiss*, commands all the *Swiss*-Troops in the Service of *France*.

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The Colonel-General of Dragoons commands all the *French-Dragoons*. There is also in that Body a *Mestre de Camp* General under the Colonel-General.

The Armies of *France* were never so numerous as in the Reign of *Lewis XIV.* In the War which preceded the Peace of *Utrecht* they amounted to near four hundred thousand Men, and they are not much reduc'd at present. They retain all or most of their Officers and Regiments, and only discharge some of the private Soldiers, which they can easily replace when they please; which Method has been imitated of late in *Britain*.

Number
of Regi-
ments.

The Author of the *Description de la France*, publish'd in the Year 1719, says, that the Infantry consisted then of two hundred and sixty-four Regiments, without including the two Regiments of the Household-Troops: That some of those Regiments consisted of four Battalions, most of them of two, and the rest of one: That their Cavalry was then compos'd of an hundred and seven Regiments, and the Dragoons of thirty-six.

Guards.

That the Troops of the Household consisted of ten thousand Men, Horse and Foot, the Cavalry comprehending the four Companies of the *Guards de Corps*, viz. That of the *Gendarmes* of the Guards, that of the Guard of light Horse, the Musketeers, and sixteen Companies of *Gendarmerie*, every one whereof consisted of sixty *Gendarmes*, or light Horse.

The Infantry of the Household comprehends the Regiment of *French-Guards*, consisting of thirty-two Companies, every company of an hundred and forty Men, without reckoning the Officers, and the Regiment of *Swiss-Guards* containing twelve Companies of two hundred

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hundred Men each. These Guards are always plac'd at the Gates and Avenues of the Palace where the King resides, the *French-Guards* always taking the Right of the *Swiss*.

The Colonel of the *French-Foot-Guards* is usually a Marshal or Lieutenant-General. The late King, by an Edict *Anno 1691*, gave the Title and Rank of Colonel to the Captains of the Guards ; and by another Edict in 1693, he gave them the Rank of Colonels before the Colonels of other Regiments created since 1691, and the Lieutenants of this Regiment command all Captains of Infantry.

The Grand Master of the Artillery commands all the *French-Artillery*, orders the making of Gun-Powder, and the founding of Guns, and has the Conduct of that Body on Marches and Sieges. He commands in the *French-Arsenals*, and especially that of *Paris*. He is always Colonel of the Regiment of Artillery and Bombardiers, and in every Army has his Lieutenant, who commands the Artillery. The Engineers are a Body of three hundred Men, commanded by the Intendant of the Fortifications.

The Maritime Forces of *France* were inconsiderable till the Reign of *Lewis XIV*, but in the last War, says my *French* Author, the Naval Army (the Royal Navy) of *France* not only defended it self against the *English* and *Dutch*, but often beat them; though I believe he cannot give one Instance of that nature in a general Battle ; they may have defeated some single Squadrons when they happen'd to outnumber them, but never the Grand Fleet, either of *England* or *Holland*. The Admiral of *France* is General of the Royal Navy, and takes Cognizance of all Offences committed therein ;

Navy
Royal and
Maritime
Forces.

therein ; and he constitutes the Members of the Admiralty, who administer Justice in his Name concerning all Controversies at Sea, either relating to War, the Fisheries, or Merchandize. He has a Right to a tenth of the Prizes taken at Sea. The King however at present, reserves to himself the Power of appointing the Officers concern'd in building and fitting out the Fleet, and buying in Provisions and Ammunition for the Naval Magazines and Arsenals. The Admirals had formerly a Right to Wrecks, but *Lewis XIV*, by an Ordinance in 1681, decreed that they shou'd be restor'd to the Owners, if claim'd within a Year and a Day, after Charges paid.

Prizes are adjudg'd by the Admiral and Commissioners appointed by the King. The Admiral hath under him two Vice-Admirals, who are usually Marshals of *France*, and under them are Lieutenants General of the Royal Navy, who have the Precedence of the Commanders of Squadrons, and give them Orders, which they communicate to the inferior Officers. There are usually four Lieutenant-Generals, but in the Year 1715 there were five. The Commanders of Squadrons hold the same Rank as the Marshals *de Camp* at Land ; there are at present eleven of these Commanders. The Captains of Men of War are the next to the Commanders of Squadrons, and when they serve on Shoar have the same Rank as Colonels ; and there are actually in *France* an hundred and seventy-one Captains of Men of War, and fifty-three Captains of Frigates ; and of all kinds of Commission-Officers not less than eighteen hundred, without reckoning the Commanders of Squadrons. In time of War there are nine hundred Guards Marine,
distributed

distributed in three Companies, viz. at *Toulon*, *Brest* and *Rochfort*, who are Gentlemen Volunteers, taught Navigation and other parts of Mathematicks at the King's Charge, out of whom the vacant Commands are supplied. Besides which his Majesty entertains an hundred Companies of Marines, of an hundred Men each, commanded by the Lieutenants of the Men of War. It appear'd in the Year 1713, that there were fifty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-four Seamen employ'd in the Royal Navy, besides Officers, and a vast Number of Workmen in their Ports and Magazines, employ'd in making and providing Naval Stores, upwards of twelve thousand Invalides, ten thousand Cabbin-Boys, Powder-Monkeys, &c.

The Royal Navy is distributed in the Ports of *Toulon*, *Brest*, *Port Louis*, *Rochfort* and *Havre de Grace*, where there are Magazines fill'd with all manner of Necessaries and Ammunition for building and rigging out a Fleet, which consisted the last War in twenty-six first Rates, thirty second Rates, forty-six third Rates, twelve fourth Rates, twenty-seven light Frigates, five Bomb-Galliot, twenty-two Fire-ships, besides Flutes, Tenders, &c. The first Rates being an hundred and sixty-three Feet long, and forty-four Foot broad, and carrying from seventy to an hundred and twenty Guns, and about nine hundred Men each. In every Port where the King has a Magazine, there is an Intendant of the Marine, who takes Cognizance of Civil and Criminal Causes, and the Revenues relating to the Sea-Service, and takes care to furnish the Magazines with all manner of Stores.

Ports of
the Roy-
al Navy.

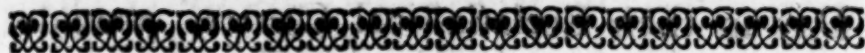
Number
of Men
of War.

Inten-
dants
of the
Marine.

Gallies.

The Gallies of *France* are another considerable Force, of which there are thirty in the Port of *Marseilles*, and ten more in other Ports. The General is independant of the Admiral, and stil'd General of the Gallies, and Lieutenant-General of the *Levant* Seas. He has under him a Lieutenant-General, and five Commanders of Squadrons. The principal Galley is call'd the *Reale*, on account of the Royal Standard which it carries, and the General goes on board it. The second Galley is call'd the *Patron*, in which the Lieutenant-General commands. The *Reale* and the *Patron* are larger than the rest, and have three hundred Slaves on board each, whereas the other Gallies have but two. But besides the Crew, every Galley has a Company of Foot, consisting of sixty Men, commanded by the Officers of the Galley. There is also a Company of young Gentlemen belonging to the Gallies, call'd the Guards of the Standard, who are instructed in Navigation at the King's Charge, as those of the Guards Marine are, which belong to the Royal Navy. There are also belonging to the Galleys an Intendant, Inspector, Comptroller, Commissary-General, Secretary-General, and two Treasurers General. The Guards of the Coast are commanded by their proper Officers on all the Shoars of the Kingdom, but are Subject to the Admiral of the Royal Navy. These were instituted to prevent any Surprise from an Enemy, who shou'd attempt to invade or harrass the Maritime Provinces. They are exempted from serving in the Ban and Arrear-Ban, which are the ordinary Militia of *France*, and enjoy many other Privileges, on account of their being always in readiness to prevent a Descent from a foreign Enemy.

CHAP.



C H A P. XXXVI.

Treats of their Religion, and the Ecclesiastical Government of France.

AS to the Religion of the antient *Gauls*, Religion, the first Establishment of the *Christian* Religion in *France*, the Opposition made by the *Albigenses* to the Errors and Encroachments of the Church of *Rome*, the Introduction of *Calvinism*, the Toleration of it by the Edict of *Nants*, the Repeal of that Edict, the Civil Wars that happen'd in this Kingdom on account of Religion, and the Persecution of the Protestants, these have been largely treated of in the Chapter containing the Antient and Modern History of *France*; there remains therefore nothing more than to consider the Present State of Religion here.

The establish'd Religion in *France* is notoriously that of the *Roman* Catholick; but the *Gallican* Church pretends to enjoy greater Liberties and Privileges, and to be less subject to the See of *Rome*, than any other *Christian* State of that Communion, as will appear hereafter. However, we find the Nation divided into two great Parties, one of them zealous in defending the Rights of the *Gallick* Church against the Encroachments of *Rome*, and the other no less zealous in asserting the Pope's Supremacy. Of the latter Party are the *Jesuits*, who at this Day seem to have the greatest Influence, and to whose indefatigable Industry we may ascribe the receiving of the *Constitution Unigenitus*, after so long and warm a Struggle.

Ecclesiastical Government

All Spiritual Causes are cognizable at this Day in their Ecclesiastical Courts, provided they are not intermix'd with Temporal Matters, or concern the State or Civil Judicatures. On the contrary, all Temporal Matters, and those which regard the Civil Government, are subject to lay Jurisdiction. The Bishops exercise their Authority by an Official, who ought to be a Graduate and a Priest.

Their Bishops antiently were not try'd in the Temporal Courts, even for High Treason, but by other Bishops, or in Parliament, where all the Bishops assisted; but there are several Instances of late Years where they have been try'd by Lay Judges, or Commissioners specially appointed for that purpose.

And as the Kings of *France* are no further subject to the Laws of the Holy See than they think fit, consequently all the Privileges which the Ecclesiasticks enjoy, they derive from the Crown, and these may be restrain'd and revok'd when his Majesty sees proper. To entitle any Subject of *France* to the Privileges of the Clergy, it is necessary that he actually be in Holy Orders, or at least that he has receiv'd the Tonsure, wears the Habit of a Clerk, serves in the Church, and applies himself to no Business inconsistent with that Character.

Privileges of the Clergy.

The Privileges the Clergy of *France* enjoy are, 1. That they cannot be brought before any Lay Jurisdiction for Personal Matters: On the contrary, they cannot bring Laymen before their Ecclesiastical Courts for any Cause whatever; and in real or mix'd Actions, the Clergy themselves must try their Causes in the Civil Courts. 2. The Clergy as well as the Nobility, are exempted from the Tailles, or Land-

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Tax. 3. Neither their Movables employ'd in Divine Service, or necessary for their Use, nor their Books to the Value of an hundred and fifty Livres, can be seiz'd. 4. In criminal Cases they may be try'd before the Grand Chamber, if they desire it. 5. A Person in Holy Orders condemn'd for any capital Crime, may not be executed till he is degraded, unless for Treason or Assassination. 6. They are exempted from quartering Soldiers. 7. Their Persons cannot be taken in Execution in Civil Actions, unless they have been guilty of some Fraud.

The King nominates to all Bishopricks and Abbies, and the Pope afterwards grants his Bulls of Consecration, &c. to the Bishop, provided the Party nominated be twenty-seven Years of Age, and a Doctor of Divinity or Law. The Age requir'd for Abbots and Priors is twenty-three. The Pope agreed to the King's Nomination of Bishops, &c. when the *Concordat* was made at *Bologn*, in the room of the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and the King on the other hand, granted to his Holiness the Annates, or first Fruits. But neither *Britany*, nor the new conquer'd Country, being comprehended in the *Concordat*, the King always receives a Brief, or Indulto, from the Pope, when he nominates to those Bishopricks. Besides the usual Bulls, the Pope sends to an Archbishop the *Pallium*, which is an Ornament they wear when they officiate pontifically, and shews their Authority over their Suffragans.

The Crown seizes the Temporalities of all vacant Archbishopricks and Bishopricks, and this in *France* is call'd the *Regale*. The King has also the Presentation of vacant Benefices belonging

belonging to the Bishopricks, till the Oath of Fidelity of the Successor be registred in the Chamber of Accounts, and he has obtain'd an Order there to take Possession of it. And the King frequently grants Pensions to Laymen out of the Bishopricks and Abbies.

Liberties
of the
Gallic
Church.

The Liberties of the *Gallican* Church, which my *French* Author makes distinct from her Privileges, are two, 1. The Pope cannot intermeddle in things relating to temporal Affairs in any of the King's Dominions, and if he does the Clergy are not bound to obey him. 2. Though the Pope be acknowledged Head of the Church in Spirituals, his Power is nevertheless bounded in *France* by Canons and antient Councils receiv'd in the Kingdom; for the *Gallican* Church has always held, that a General Council is above the Pope.

Assembly
of the
Clergy.

The Clergy of *France* cannot assemble without Leave of the King: These Assemblies are of two kinds, the one stil'd General, because it is compos'd of the Deputies or Representatives of all the Ecclesiastical Provinces; the other private, because it consists only of such Prelates as are about *Paris*, who are call'd to treat of some Matter of Importance, when there is not time to chuse and assemble the Deputies of the Provinces.

The General Assemblies again are divided into Ordinary and Extraordinary: the Extraordinary are call'd on great Emergencies, and the Ordinary have their fix'd stated times, and are held every five Years. The Ordinary Assemblies again are divided into Great and Lesser; the first are call'd Great, because the Provinces usually send four Deputies to them, two of the higher Orders, as Archbishops or Bishops, and two of the inferior Order, as Abbots,

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Abbots, Priors, or other benefic'd Clergymen of the Province. The second are call'd the Lesser Assemblies, because the Provinces send but two Deputies, one of the first Order and the other of the second. The Great Assemblies were heretofore call'd *Decennates*, because they meet but once in ten Years, and in the Intervals are held the Lesser Assemblies; for Example, if the Lesser Assembly be held in 1730, the Greater will be held in 1735, so that there are five Years between the one and the other.

The Great Assemblies are held to renew their Contract for paying their Tenths to his Majesty, which is in Force ten Years. The Business of the Lesser is to take the Accounts of the Receiver-General: But both the one and the other grant the King a further Supply, which passes under the Name of a Free-Gift, which is levied on all the Clergy of *France*, and is more or less, according to the Exigencies of the State. There are but sixteen of the Provinces that have a Right of sending their Deputies to the ordinary Assemblies, viz. *Aix, Alby, Ambrun, Arles, Auch, Bourdeaux, Bourges, Lyons, Narbonne, Paris, Reims, Rouensens, Toulouse, Tours and Vienne*. The other Provinces were not united to the Crown when the first Contract for Tenths was made, but they send Deputies to the Extraordinary Assemblies, which treat of the general Affairs of the Church of *France*, of Matters of Faith, Manners or Discipline.

The Clergy of *France* have always two Agents General, which attend the Court to make their Remonstrances to the King and Council, against any Edicts or Arrets which appear contrary to the Interests of the Church,

Agents
of the
Clergy.

OF

or seem to encroach on her Jurisdiction, and they are allow'd a Seat in the Council of State and Parliament of *Paris* for that end. They continue five Years in their Office, and are named alternately by the Provinces. They ought to be Priests of the Province that elects them, and to be possess'd of a Benefice that pays Tenths, and are allow'd each of them a Salary of seven thousand Livres *per Annum*.

The Controversies which happen about the levying the Tenths, and other Taxes or Impositions on the Clergy, are try'd in the Courts of the several Dioceses in the first Instance, but are afterwards frequently brought by way of Appeal to some of the nine superior Ecclesiastical Courts, establish'd in several parts of the Kingdom, which are the last Resort within their respective Limits. These superior Courts or Councils are held at *Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Tours, Toulouse, Bourges, Bourdeaux, Aix* and *Pau*. The Diocesan Courts assess and assign what Proportion every Clergyman is to pay towards the Tenths, &c. for though they have obtain'd the Name of Tenths, the Sum rais'd has been sometimes more and sometimes less. The Sum which is demanded by way of Free Gift, is usually nam'd by the Court, and they will not often take much less than they ask.

The Kingdom of *France* contains eighteen Archbishopricks, and a hundred thirteen Bishopricks, *viz.*

1. The Archbishoprick of *Aix*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Apt.* 2. The Bishop of *Riez.* 3. The Bishop of *Frejus.* 4. The Bishop of *Gap.* 5. The Bishop of *Sisteron.*

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Belley.
7. The
Suffrag
Agen.
Bishop
5. The
Rochelle.
Bishop
8. The
fragans
mont.
Bishop
5. The
Vol.

2. The Archbishoprick of *Alby*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Castres*. 2. The Bishop of *Mande*. 3. The Bishop of *Cahors*. 4. The Bishop of *Rodez*. 5. The Bishop of *Vabres*.

3. The Archbishoprick of *Ambrun*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Digne*. 2. The Bishop of *Grasse*. 3. The Bishop of *Vence*. 4. The Bishop of *Glandeve*. 5. The Bishop of *Senez*.

4. The Archbishoprick of *Arles*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Marseille*. 2. The Bishop of *St. Paul trois Chateaux*. 3. The Bishop of *Toulon*. 4. The Bishop of *Orange*.

5. The Archbishoprick of *Auch*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Dax*, or *Acqs*. 2. The Bishop of *Laietoure*. 3. The Bishop of *Comenge*. 4. The Bishop of *Conserans*. 5. The Bishop of *Aire*. 6. The Bishop of *Bazas*. 7. The Bishop of *Tarbes*. 8. The Bishop of *Oleron*. 9. The Bishop of *Lestard*. 10. The Bishop of *Bayonne*.

6. The Archbishoprick of *Besancon*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Belley*.

7. The Archbishoprick of *Bordeaux*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Agen*. 2. The Bishop of *Condom*. 3. The Bishop of *Angouleme*. 4. The Bishop of *Saintes*. 5. The Bishop of *Poitiers*. 6. The Bishop of *Rochelle*. 7. The Bishop of *Lucon*. 8. The Bishop of *Perigueux*. 9. The Bishop of *Sarlat*.

8. The Archbishoprick of *Bourges*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Clermont*. 2. The Bishop of *St. Flour*. 3. The Bishop of *Limoges*. 4. The Bishop of *Tulles*. 5. The Bishop of *Puy*.

9. The Archbishoprick of *Cambray*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Arras*. 2. The Bishop of *St. Omer*. 3. The Bishop of *Tournay*. 4. The Bishop of *Ipres*.

10. The Archbishoprick of *Lyon*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Autun*. 2. The Bishop of *Langres*. 3. The Bishop of *Chalon*. 4. The Bishop of *Macon*.

11. The Archbishoprick of *Narbonne*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Beziers*. 2. The Bishop of *Agde*. 3. The Bishop of *Carcassonne*. 4. The Bishop of *Nismes*. 5. The Bishop of *Montpellier*. 6. The Bishop of *Lodeve*. 7. The Bishop of *Uzes*. 8. The Bishop of *St. Pons de Tomieres*. 9. The Bishop of *Alet*. 10. The Bishop of *Alais*. 11. The Bishop of *Elne*, or *Perpignan*.

12. The Archbishoprick of *Paris*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Chartres*. 2. The Bishop of *Meaux*. 3. The Bishop of *Orleans*. 4. The Bishop of *Blois*.

13. The Archbishoprick of *Reims*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Soissons*. 2. The Bishop of *Chalons sur Marne*. 3. The Bishop of *Laon*. 4. The Bishop of *Senlis*. 5. The Bishop of *Beauvais*. 6. The Bishop of *Amiens*. 7. The Bishop of *Noyon*. 8. The Bishop of *Boulogne*.

14. The Archbishoprick of *Rouen*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Bayeux*. 2. The Bishop of *Avranches*. 3. The Bishop of *Evreux*. 4. The Bishop of *Seez*. 5. The Bishop of *Lizieux*. 6. The Bishop of *Coutances*.

15. The Archbishoprick of *Sens*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Troyes*. 2. The Bishop of *Auxerre*. 3. The Bishop of *Nevers*. 4. The Bishop of *Bethlem*.

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16. The Archbishoprick of *Toulouse*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Pamiers*. 2. The Bishop of *Montauban*. 3. The Bishop of *Mirepoix*. 4. The Bishop of *Lavaur*. 5. The Bishop of *Rieux*. 6. The Bishop of *Lombez*. 7. The Bishop of *St. Papoul*.

17. The Archbishoprick of *Tours*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Mans*. 2. The Bishop of *Angers*. 3. The Bishop of *Rennes*. 4. The Bishop of *Nantes*. 5. The Bishop of *Vannes*. 6. The Bishop of *Cournouailles*, or *Quimpercorantim*. 7. The Bishop of *St. Paul de Leon*. 8. The Bishop of *Treguier*. 9. The Bishop of *St. Briouc*. 10. The Bishop of *St. Malo*. 11. The Bishop of *Doll*.

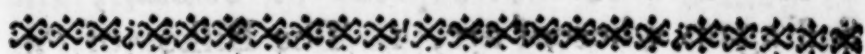
18. The Archbishoprick of *Vienne*, the Suffragans whereof are, 1. The Bishop of *Valence*. 2. The Bishop of *Die*. 3. The Bishop of *Grenoble*. 4. The Bishop of *Viviers*. 5. The Bishop of *Geneve*.

19. The three Bishopricks are those of *Metz*, *Toul* and *Verdun*, all Suffragans to the Archbishop of *Triers* in *Germany*.

20. The Bishop of *Strasbourg* is Suffragan to the Archbishop of *Ments*.

21. The Bishop of *Perpignan* in *Roussillon*, to the Archbishop of *Terragona* in *Spain*.

They compute there are about seven hundred and fifty Abbies of Monks, and two hundred of Nuns in *France*, and above ten thousand other lesser Convents. That there are in all upwards of two hundred thousand Monks and Nuns in the Kingdom, and that the Revenues of the Clergy and Religious Houses of all kinds, amount to twenty-six millions sterling *per Annum*.



C H A P. XXXVII.

Treats of the King's Succession to the Crown; of his Minority and Majority; Titles, Prerogatives, Ornaments, Arms, Coronation, Orders of Knighthood; and of the Princes of the Blood, Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty.

Of the
Successi-
on to the
Crown.

THE *French* boast much of their Salique Law, which limits the Succession of the Crown to the Male Issue: but whether by that Law the eldest Son only was to inherit the Kingdom, or it was to be divided equally among the Sons, they do not seem to insist much upon. If we were to be guided by the Custom that prevail'd during the two first Races of their Kings, all the Sons would have an equal Right; where the deceas'd King made no Disposition or Division of his Dominions, they were parted of course between his Male Issue. *Lothaire* was the first that succeeded to the whole Monarchy where there were more Brothers than one, and this was not till the Year 954. But further, notwithstanding this pretended Salique Law, the Kings of *France*, when the Legislative Authority was lodg'd in them solely, and the King and States, or Parliaments, when the Legislative Authority was vested in them jointly, have taken upon them to set aside the eldest Son of the preceding King, and fix another upon the Throne. As in the case of *Henry V*, King of *England*, who having married the Daughter of *Charles VI*, King of *France*, was declar'd presumptive Heir to the Crown of *France*.

France, to the Exclusion of the Dauphin ; which Settlement was approv'd and ratify'd by the Parliaments and States of the Kingdom, and *Henry VI* King of *England*, Son of *Henry V*, in pursuance of that Settlement, was afterwards recogniz'd, and crown'd King of *France* in *Paris*.

At this Day, according to the *French* Writers, their King never dies, but in that moment the Eyes of the preceding King are clos'd, his eldest Son, or in default of Male Issue, the next Prince of the Blood succeeds to the Throne, and is vested with the supreme Authority, before he is either anointed or crown'd. But where the King is a Minor, that is, before he has enter'd the fourteenth Year of his Age, the Administration of the Government is lodg'd in a Regent, usually the Queen-Mother, if she survive the deceas'd King, or the first Prince of the Blood, according as either of them can make Interest, or influence the Parliament of *Paris*, whose Determination in this matter is usually acquiesc'd in by the rest of the Kingdom. But if the deceas'd King appoints a Regent by his Will, there is seldom any Dispute about the matter.

The Regency during a Minority.

When the King is become Major, or enter'd into the fourteenth Year of his Age, he goes in great State to the Parliament of *Paris*, attended by the Princes of the Blood, Peers and great Officers of State, which Assembly is usually call'd his Bed of Justice, and here his Majority is declar'd ; notwithstanding which, the Regent frequently procures himself to be constituted Prime Minister, and under that Title continues to govern the Kingdom till his Majesty thinks fit to take the Reins

Reins of Government into his own Hands. There have been Instances where the Prime Minister has continu'd in the same Power during the King's whole Life, as in the Reign of *Lewis XIII*, when Cardinal *Richlieu* had in effect the Administration of all Affairs, and the King was little more than a Cypher. Some Princes, it is observ'd, cannot go without Leading-strings, and if you take them out of the Hands of one Minister, they immediately put themselves under the Conduct of another.

Stile of
the King.

The *French* King stiles himself, *Lewis*, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre. The Pope in his Bulls gives him the Title of *Eldest Son of the Church*, and *The Most Christian King*, as he is stil'd by Foreigners; but his Subjects, in writing or speaking of him, call him *the King*, or *his Majesty* only, and in speaking to him give him the Appellation of *Sire*.

Arms.

The Arms of *France* are Three Flowers de Lys Or in a Field Azure, supported by two Angels in the Habit of Levites, having each of them a Banner in his Hands with the same Arms; the Crest is an open Crown; the whole under a grand Azure Pavilion strew'd with Flowers de Lys Or and Ermins, and over it a close Crown with a double Flower de Lys Or; on the sides of it are flying Streamers on which are written the Words us'd in Battle, *Montjoye*, *St. Denis*, and above them on the Royal Banner or Oriflame, *Lilia non laborant neque nent*, taken from Scripture, which are, 'tis said, an Allusion to the Salique Law that excludes Females from the Supreme Command.

The Marks of Sovereignty, or Royal Ornaments, as the *French* call them, when his Majesty appears on solemn Occasions, are the Scepter, which he weilds in his Right Hand

and

and the Hand of Justice, which is a kind of Scepter too, that he holds in his Left; the latter is a Staff about two Foot long, at the end of which is an Ivory Hand; the King uses it chiefly at the Coronation, the Scepter only on other Days of Ceremony.

There is no set time prescribed for the Co-
Corona-
ronation or Anointing of the Kings of *France*; tion.

but the Ceremony is perform'd whenever the Court thinks fit. They are usually Crown'd at *Rheims*, by the Archbishop of that City, assisted by five other Ecclesiastical Peers, and six Noblemen, who represent the other six antient Lay-Peers of *France*. The Oil with which his Majesty is Anointed, according to their Traditions, was brought from Heaven by a Dove, and is kept in a Viol call'd the Holy Bottle. The Crown of *Charlemain* is at first set upon the King's Head; but being very weighty, is exchange'd for another. As for the rest of the Ceremony, I refer the Reader to the *French* Historians, who are very large upon this Head, as they are upon all Matters of Ceremony.

As to the Prerogative of the Kings of *France*, Prerogative of
in taking place of all the Kings of *Europe*, the Kings
which their Writers endeavour to maintain, of *France*
it was never yielded them by *Spain*, till that above
Or; Monarchy was reduc'd so low that the *Spanish* other
Princes.
which *Spain* was in no Condition to dispute it; and I
am apt to think that the Sovereign of *Russia*,
who hath of late assumed the Imperial Title,
never did and always will expect the Prece-
dence. The Sovereigns of *Britain* have ne-
ver given up this Point, nor is there any man-
ner of Reason they shou'd, since *France* has
been actually conquer'd by *England*, and our
Princes have always given *England* the Prece-
dence in the Royal Stile. It would be ridicu-
lous

lous while they write themselves Kings of *Great Britain, France, &c.* that they should give Place to the *French King*. Even *Cromwell*, who only call'd himself *Protector of the Commonwealth of England*, in his Treaties with that Nation, obliged them to place his own Title before that of the *French King's*, as he call'd him; for he insisted that the *French King* had no Right to stile himself *King of France*; and this happen'd but in the Reign of the last Monarch, *Lewis le Grand*.

Of their
touching
for the
Evil.

The Kings of *France* Touch for the Evil as well as the Kings of *England*. According to Tradition, *Clovis* receiv'd this Privilege from Heaven, at the time he became a Christian; tho' others say, their Kings have not used it more than six hundred Years. Before his Majesty touches, the first Physician and the Physicians of the Place examine the Patient: the King makes a Cross upon the Parties Forehead, and says to every one of them, *The King Touches, and God Heals you*.

Nobility.

The Nobility of *France* consists of four Degrees, 1. That of the Princes of the Blood. 2. The Higher Nobility. 3. The Ordinary Nobility. And, 4. The Nobility lately made. He is denominated First Prince of the Blood, who stands next the Crown after the King's Children. The late King legitimated his base Issue, and gave them the Precedence of all the Nobility after the Princes of the Blood. The Duke of *Maine* and the Count de *Toulouse*, two of his Sons by his Mistresses, by an Edict in *July 1714*, he declar'd legitimate, and them and their Children and Descendants, born in lawful Marriage, capable of succeeding to the Crown of *France* after the last of the Princes of the House of *Bourbon*. And by another E-

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dict in 1715, he declared, That in Parliament, and all other Courts and Places, there should be no Distinction made between these and the Princes of the Blood. But in the Year 1717, *Lewis XV* revers'd both those Edicts, reserving only to the Duke of *Maine* and the Count de *Toulouse* the Honours they enjoy'd in Parliament by the Edict of 1714.

The Dukes and Counts, Peers of *France*, after the Princes of the Blood, have the Precedence among the Higher Nobility. Antiently there were but six Ecclesiastick and six Lay-Peers; three of the Ecclesiasticks were Dukes, viz. the Archbishop of *Rheims*, and the Bishops of *Langres* and *Laon*; the other three Ecclesiasticks were Counts, viz. the Bishop of *Beauvais*, the Bishop of *Chalons*, and the Bishop of *Noyons*: The three Lay-Dukes were the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Duke of *Normandy*, and the D. of *Guienne*; and the three Counts were those of *Champaign*, *Flanders* and *Toulouse*: The Lay-Peerages have been re-united to the Crown, except *Flanders*, which at present has another Sovereign; and the Kings of *France* have since created many Dukes, Counts and Peers, without limiting them to any certain Number; and these take Place according as they are register'd in Parliament. However, at a Coronation six Princes or Noblemen are appointed to represent and perform the Offices of the six antient Lay-Peers. Those who are Dukes and Peers have a Right to sit in Parliament, and several other Privileges annexed to their Peerages: But there are a great many Dukes who are not Peers, and consequently are excluded from those Privileges; but are rank'd however among the higher Nobility. The Officers of the Crown also are in the same Degree,

The 12
Antient
Peers of
France.

as the Chancellor, the Grand Master of the Household, the Admiral, the Marshals of *France*, the Grand Master of the Artillery, and, according to some Writers, the Grand Chamberlain, the Great Huntsman, the Great Master of the Horse and the Great Almoner, the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, and the Captains of the Guard du Corps.

The Knights of the Order of the Holy Ghost also are ranked with the Higher Nobility; as also the Governors of Provinces and Lieutenants-General.

Inferior
Nobility
and Gen-
try.

In several Provinces, as in *Normandy*, private Gentlemen have the Title of Noblemen; but in much the greatest part of the Kingdom they go under the Denomination of Esquires.

The Ordinary Nobility are divided into those who have been such for time immemorial, and those Families who have been created by Patent: If the first can shew they have enjoy'd that Honour an Hundred Years, it is sufficient to give them the Privileges of the *Noblesse* (as they are call'd) and exempt them from the Tailles, and some other Taxes.

The Nobility which is obtain'd by being Members of Parliament, or of the Superior Courts, is but Personal, and does not descend to their Posterity, unless the Grandfather and Father have enjoy'd such Offices successively, and exercis'd them twenty Years, or died possess'd of them. The Crown has also granted the Privileges of Nobility to the Aldermen or Magistrates of some Cities.

Nobility
forfeited.

Nobility may be lost by following any Trade, or taking a Farm of Lands; but when *Lewis XIV* endeavour'd to restore Maritime Affairs in *France*, he did by his Declaration expressly

expresly permit Persons of Quality to apply themselves to foreign Commerce, without derogating from their Nobility.

The Exercise of Mechanick Arts, or any mean Office or Employment, deprives a Person of his Nobility.

The Gentlemen of *Britany* wave their Nobility while they apply themselves to Trade, and when they leave it off, resume their Privileges again without a new Grant.

Thus we see the *French* include all their Gentry under the general Title of Nobility or *Noblesse*. As for the Third Estate, the *Roturiens*, the most wretched of these miserable People, which comprehends their Tradesmen, Yeomen, and Husbandmen, or Peasants, they are liable to the Land-Tax and many others from which the Nobility and Gentry are exempted, as well as to the quartering of Soldiers. Nor is this all, they are as much tyranniz'd over by the Quality, as the Quality and the rest of the Subjects of *France* are by the Court. If a Peasant or a Tradesman meets a Gentleman upon the Road, he gets out of the way as soon as possible, and makes ten thousand Cringes as he passes by, or he may expect to be well drubb'd without Remedy: whereas an *English* Farmer, or a common Waggoner, will frequently dispute the way with a Person of Quality and a numerous Equipage, and perhaps turn a Coach and Six out of the Road, and if a Law-suit is commenc'd on any Damage receiv'd, shall have as much Justice done him as a Nobleman.

The poor Protestants have been often pitied that they have been forc'd to fly from their Dwellings and take refuge in foreign Countries; but considering how kindly they have been

The Protestant Refugees happier than the present Subjects receiv'd of *France*.

receiv'd every where, especially in *England*, where they have been naturaliz'd by thousands, and obtain'd the Privileges of Free-born *Britons* for a Trifle; that many of them have gotten great Estates, and most of them are in a way to maintain themselves and their Families very handsomely, they may thank Heaven for suffering them to be expell'd a Country which about that time began to be a Scene of so much Misery. How have those they left behind them either been forc'd into the Army, where they have undergone inconceivable Hardships, or plunder'd of their Goods and Money to maintain the Glory of their Grand Monarch. No Man at this Day can say he is Master of any thing in *France*: if he is suspected to have any Treasure, it shall be borrow'd of him, or the Money shall be call'd in and Paper Bills given him in the room of it, which shall first be compounded for half the Money they were given for, and then the remainder paid, if ever, in Money that is not of half the intrinsic Value which is put upon it. Add to this the Discouragement that these arbitrary Proceedings have given to Trade and Industry, insomuch that great part of their Lands lie uncultivated, they plant and sow no more than for their present Necessity, and this has of late Years occasion'd frequent Famines, insomuch that they forsake their Country to find Bread, as the Protestants did formerly to avoid Persecution. But the Sovereign of this miserable People is our good Allie, and therefore I shall not dwell any longer on this melancholly Subject; only give me leave to wish that none of the Princes of *Europe* may endeavour to imitate the Maxims that Court has been govern'd by, to aggrandize

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dize a single Family, or immortalize their Names in the manner *Lewis XIV* attempted to establish his.

The three Orders of Knighthood in *France* are, the Order of *St. Michael*, the Order of the *Holy Ghost*, and the Order of *St. Lewis*. The Order of *St. Michael* was instituted in the Year 1469 by *Lewis XI*, in honour of *St. Michael* the Archangel, and consisted of thirty-six Knights at first, but has been since enlarg'd to an hundred. It is not esteem'd very honourable at present, only it is necessary a Person should be admitted of this Order before he receives that of the *Holy Ghost*.

Orders of
Knighthood.

The Order of the *Holy Ghost* was instituted in 1578 by *Henry III*, King of *France* and *Poland*. This Order is compos'd of an hundred Persons, without including the Sovereign, and is conferr'd on the Princes of the Blood, Peers, and other great Men of the First Quality.

The Order of *St. Lewis* was instituted in the Year 1693 by *Lewis XIV*, and was design'd purely for the Encouragement of the Generals and Officers of the Army.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Contains a further Account of their Diet and Diversions.

THE Diet of the *French* consists chiefly of Bread and Herbs: The common Bread, or *Pain de Gonesse*, which is brought twice a Week to *Paris*, is purely white, firm and light, and made altogether with Leaven, mostly

Their
Diet.

mostly in 3 Pound Loaves. That which is bak'd in *Paris* is coarser and much worse.

As for the fine Manchet, or *French Bread*, it is of late, since they have made it of Yeast, so bitter that it is not to be eaten, and we far exceed them now in this Particular ; but the grey Salt they make use of is incomparably better, and more wholesome than our white Salt.

In *Lent* the common People feed much on white Kidney Beans and white Lentils, of which there are great Quantities in all the Markets, and to be had ready boiled. This Lentil is a sort of Pulse we have none of in *England*.

Their Roots differ much from ours : Here are no round Turneps, but all long ones, and small, but excellently well tasted, and are of a much greater Use, being proper for Soups also, for which ours are too strong ; we have indeed of late got them into *England*, but our Gardeners understand not the managing of them. The sandy Plains of *Vaugerard* near *Paris* are famous for this sort of excellent Root.

Potatoes are scarce to be found in their Markets, which are so great a Relief to the People of *England*, and very nourishing and wholesome Roots ; but there are store of Jerusalem Artichokes.

They abound in vast Quantities of large red Onions and Garlick, and the long and sweet white Onion of *Languedoc* ; also Leeks, Rockamboy and Shallots are in great use.

The Leeks are here much smaller than with us, but to recompence this they are blancht with more Care and Art, and are three times as long in the white part, which is by sinking them early so deep in mellow Earth. There

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is no Plant of the Onion-kind so hardy as this, and so proper for cold Mountains, and it is excellent against spitting of Blood, and all Diseases of the Throat and Lungs.

Though the Lettice be the great and universal Sallad in *France*, yet it does not come near ours for the largeness and hardness of it, except the long Roman Lettice, which is incomparably beyond our Silesian.

In *April* and *May* the Markets are served with vast Quantities of white Beets.

The Asparagus here are in great plenty, but for the first Month they are very bitter.

They are so great Lovers of Sorrel that they plant whole Acres of it in the Fields; and nothing is more wholesome: it supplies the place of Lemons against the Scurvy, or any ill habit of the Body.

But after all, the *French* delight in nothing so much as Mushrooms, of which they have daily, and all the Winter long, store of fresh and new gathered in the Markets. They raise them on hot Beds in their Gardens.

Of forc'd Mushrooms they have many Crops in a Year, but for the Months of *August*, *September* and *October*, when they naturally grow in the Fields, they prepare no artificial Beds.

They make in the Fields and Gardens of *Vaugerard* long narrow Trenches, and fill them with Horse Dung 2 or 3 Foot thick, on which they throw up the common Earth of the place and cover the Dung with it like the Ridge of a House, and over all they put long Straw or long Horse Litter; out of this Earth springs the Champignons after Rain, and if Rain comes not they water the Beds every Day in Winter. They are six Days after their springing or first Appearance before they pull them

up

up for the Market. On some Beds they have plenty, on others but few, which demonstrate they come of Seed in the Ground, for all the Beds are alike.

They destroy their old Beds in Summer, and dung their Grounds with them : they prepare their new Beds the latter end of *August*, and have plentiful Crops of Mushrooms towards *Christmas*, and all the Spring till after *March*.

The Moriglio Mushroom is much esteem'd in *France*, and is mostly gathered in Woods at the foot of Oaks. There are some of them as big as Turkey Eggs. They are found in great Quantities in the Woods in *Champagne* about *Reims* and *Nostre Dame de Liesse*. They string them and dry them, and they seem to have a far better Relish than the *Champignons*.

The City of *Paris* is well serv'd with Carp, of which there is an incredible Quantity spent in *Lent*. They are not large, but very clean of Mud, and well tasted.

They have a particular way of bringing fresh Oysters to Town : they put them up in Straw Baskets, cut from the Shell, and without the Liquor. They are thus very good for stewing, and all other manner of dressing.

There is a vast Plenty of *Macreuse*, a sort of Sea-Ducks, in the Markets all *Lent*, which are esteem'd as Fish, and therefore they take them with great Industry. They have a rank Fishy Taste, yet for want of other Flesh are very welcome.

As for their Flesh, Mutton and Beef, if they are good in their kind, they come little short of ours ; but their Veal is not to be compar'd with ours, being red and coarse.

Their

Their Meat is leaner and dryer, and is long kept before it is spent, which gives it a higher and saltier Taste ; for as Meat rots, it becomes more urinous and salt. Our People indeed covet the freshest Meat, and cannot endure the least Tendency to Putrefaction; and we have good reason to do so, because our Air is twice as moist as theirs, which does often cause in the keeping of Meat a Mustiness which is intolerable ; whereas the Air of *France* being so much drier, keeping of Meat not only makes it tender, but improves the Taste ; so that could we secure our Meat in keeping it from that unsavoury Quality, it would far out-do the *French* Meat, because much more juicy.

As for their Fruits, the *Bon Chretien* and *Virguleus* Pears are admirable.

The *Kentish* Pippin, as we call it, also is excellent : But two other sorts of Apples stock the Markets ; the *Winter Calvil*, or *Queening*, which though a tender and soft Apple, yet continues good till after *Easter* : also the *Pome d'Apis*, which is serv'd here for Shew more than Use, being a small flat Apple, very beautiful, very red on one side, and pale or white on the other, and may serve the *French* Ladies at their Toilets for a Pattern to paint by.

The Wines about *Paris* are very small, yet Wines; good in their kind ; those *de Surêne* are excellent some Years. In all the Taverns they have a way to make them into the Fashion of *Champagne* and *Burgundy*.

The Tax upon Wines is now so great, that whereas before the War they drank them at retail at 5 *d.* the Quart, they now sell them at two and three Shillings the Quart, and dearer;

which has enhanced the Rates of all Commodities and Workmens Wages, and also has caused many thousand private Families to lay in Wines in their Cellars at the cheapest hand, which used to have none before.

The Wines of *Burgundy* and *Champagne* are most valued, and indeed not without Reason, for they are light and easy upon the Stomach, and give little Disturbance to the Brain, if drawn from the Hoghead, or loose bottled, after their Fashion.

The most esteemed are *Vin de Bonne* of *Burgundy*, a red Wine, which is *Dolce Piquante*.

Volne, a pale *Champagne*, but exceeding brisk upon the Palate, is said to grow upon the very Borders of *Burgundy*, and to participate of the Excellency of both Counties.

There is another sort of Wine call'd *Vin de Rheims*; this is also a pale or grey Wine, it is harsh, as all *Champagne* Wines are.

The white Wines of Value are those of *Mascon* in *Burgundy*.

Mulso in *Champagne* is a small and not unpleasant white Wine.

Chabri is a quick and sharp white Wine well esteem'd.

Vin de Turene en Anjou of two Years old, is one of the best white Wines drunk in *Paris*.

Gannetin from *Dauphine* is a very pale and thin white Wine, very like the *Verde* of *France*, sweet and of a very pleasant Flavour.

The red Wines of *Burgundy*, *des quatre Feuilles*, as they say, or of four Years old, are rare, but they are esteem'd very wholesom, and are permitted to the sick in some Cases to drink of. They are fine, and have a rough but sound Taste, not prickt. This Term

Des

Des quatre Feuilles, is us'd also to *Velne*, or any other sort of Wine which is kept any time.

There are also in Esteem stronger Wines at *Paris*, as *Camp de Perdris*, and *Coste Bruslee*, both red Wines from *Dauphine*, of very good Taste, and hot upon the Stomach.

De l'Hermitage upon the *Rosne* is much admir'd. But the most excellent Wines for Strength and Flavour are the red and white *St. Laurence*, a Town betwixt *Toulon* and *Nice* in *Provence*; this is a most delicious *Muscat*. These are of those sorts of Wines which the *Romans* call'd *Vinum Passum*, that were made of half-Sun-dried Grapes, for the Grapes (especially the white *Muscadine* Grapes) being usually sooner ripe than the common Grapes of the Country call'd *Esperan*, viz. the latter end of *August*, they twist the Bunches of Grapes, so breaking the Stalks of them that they receive no longer any Nourishment from the Vine, but hang down and dry in the then violently hot Sun, and are in few Days almost turn'd into Raisins of the Sun, hence from this Infolation the Flavour of the Grape is exceedingly heightened, and the Strength and Oiliness, and thick Body of the Wine, is mightily improv'd.

Besides these, here are also the white Wines of *Orleans*, *Bordeaux* Claret, and those excellent Wines from *Cahors*; also *Cabreton* white and red from about *Bayonne*, strong and delicious Wines; and all sorts of *Spanish* Wines, as Sack, *Palme*, *Mountain*, *Malaga*, red and white *Sherries*; and indeed the *French* are of late very desirous to drink of the strongest Wines.

Strong
Waters.

Besides Wines, there is no Entertainment without drinking at the Desert all sorts of strong Waters, particularly Ratifia's, Citron-Waters, &c.

Vattee is a sort of perfum'd strong Water from *Provence*, made (as it is pretended) of *Muscat* Wine, distill'd with Citron-Pills and Orange-Flowers.

Fenoulliet de l'Isle de Ree is valu'd much, 'tis like our Anniseed-Water.

These and many other sorts of strong Waters and strong Wines, both of *Fance*, and *Italy* and *Spain*, are brought in at the latter end of the Desert in all great Feasts, and they drink freely of them, which Custom is new, the late long War introduc'd it; for the Nobility and Gentry suffering much in those tedious Campaigns, apply'd themselves to these Liquors to support the Difficulties and Fatigues of Weather and Watchings, and at their Return to *Paris* us'd them at their Tables. The *Parisians*, both Men and Women, are of late strangely alter'd in their Constitutions and Habit of Body, from lean and slender they are become fat and corpulent, the Women especially, which is suppos'd to proceed from nothing so much as the daily drinking strong or sweetned Liquors, as Coffee, Tea and Chocolate, which are as much used in private Houses in *Paris* as in *London*. These sugar'd Liquors, 'tis said, add considerably to their Corpulency.

Cyder.

But amongst the Drinks that are in Use in *Paris*, Cyder from *Normandy* must not be forgot. It is the best of that kind of Liquor, of the Colour of Claret, reddish and brown. The Apple that it is made of is called *Frequin*, round and yellow, but so bitter that it is not

to

to be eaten, and yet the Cyder that is made of it is as sweet as any new Wine. It keeps many Years good, and mends of its Colour and Taste.

There are also many publick Coffee-Houses, where Tea, Coffee and Chocolate may be had, and all the strong Waters and Wines above-mention'd, and innumerable Ale-Houses, where the Natives tipple very freely: the *French* are far from being that sober People they were in the last Age.

There are two sorts of Water which they drink at *Paris*, Water of the River *Seine*, which runs through the Town, and the Water brought in by the Aqueduct of *Arcueil*, which is one of the most magnificent Buildings about *Paris*. This noble Canal of hewn Stone conveys the Water fifteen Miles to *Paris*.

The River-Water is very pernicious to Strangers, and to the *French* also that come from any distance, but not to the Natives of *Paris*, causing Looseness, and sometimes Dysenteries; the many Ponds and Lakes that are let into it to supply the Sluces upon the Canal de *Briare*, are in part the Cause of it; but those who are careful of themselves purify it by filling their Cisterns with Sand, and letting it sink through it, which way clears it, and makes it very cool and palatable.

As for the Spring Water from the *Maison des Eaux*, it is wholsom in some respect, and keeps the Body firm, but it is very apt to give the Stone, which the People of this Town are infinitely subject to.

The usual Diversions of the *French* are either Plays, Gaming, Walking, or taking the Air.

Air in Coaches. They have two kinds of Play-Houses, one for Opera's, and another for Comedies ; their Opera's in *Paris* are extremely fine, the Musick and singing admirable, the Stage large and magnificent, and well fill'd with A^{ct}ors, the Scenes well suited, and chang'd almost imperceptibly ; the Dancing exquisite, and the Cloathing rich, proper, and with great variety ; many of the Nobility frequent them every Day, and sing them, all frequently joining their Voices with the A^{ct}ors. The Disposition of the Theatre for Comedies is much the same, but less ; there is some little Comical Entertainment exhibited at the end of almost every Play, which 'tis to be presum'd, the *English* took from them. They avoid all Obscenity and Immorality upon the Stage as much as possible, and yet they are frequently prohibited acting, at the Desire of the Clergy, who look upon them as tending to incite and encourage Vice.

They are pretty much giving to gaming, but Games of meer hazard are prohibited. Great part of the time of People of Quality is taken up in visiting in their Coaches : In the Evening they take the Air in the Course, which consists of three pleasant Walks of Trees along the Banks of the River *Seine*, enclosed at each End with magnificent Gates, and in the middle is a Circle to turn in. The middle Alley contains four Lines of Coaches, and the side Alleys two a piece, and they may amount in the whole sometimes to six or seven hundred. Those who have a Mind to take the Air further out of Town drive to the *Bois de Bologne* or the *Bois de Vincennes* ; and as *Paris* is of a round Form,
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it is but a little way to the Fields from any part of the Town.

About eight or nine o' Clock in the Evening most of the Coaches return to the Gate of the *Tuilleries*, where the Company light, and walk in the fine Gardens of that Palace; nor can there be a more delightful Scene, as one of our Countrymen observes, than the middle Walk of the *Tuilleries* when it is filled with so much good Company. This Garden is vastly great, bounded with a Terras well planted with Trees and the River *Seine* on one side, and another Terras on the other, having great Parterres in the middle, and Fountains always playing: at one End of the Gardens is the magnificent Palace of the *Louvre*, and at the other a fine Prospect of the neighbouring Fields: the rest is dispos'd into Walks of Trees, Copses of Wood, and Grass Plotts, with Alcoves and Seats at convenient distances. The Reader, no doubt, will observe, that I have not been so full upon every Head as I might; but the World being generally of Opinion I have enlarg'd too much upon *France* in proportion to the rest of the Work, in Submission to their Judgment I shall finish the Description of *France* here, and begin the Thirteenth Volume with
THE PRESENT STATE OF SPAIN.

THE



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